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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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SUB-SAHARAM AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

BRIEFS

ANGOLA PIONEERS DELEGATION IN CUBA--A number of accords were signed in Havana as a result of a recent visit by a delegation of the Organization of Angolan Pioneers /OPA/ to the Republic of Cuba. The OPA delegation was headed by First Secretary (Goncalves Muandumba). These accords will guide future relations between the OPA and the Cuban organization of Jose Marti Pioneers. The Angolan delegation to Cuba stayed in that friendly country for 10 days, during which time it visited the Isle of Youth, where thousands of Angolan youths are studying. The delegation also held working meetings with officials of the organization of Jose Marti Pioneers and took the opportunity to hold a meeting with Carlos Lage, the first secretary of the Union of Young Communists of Cuba. /Text//Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 22 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSES BILATERAL RELATION—Afonso van Dunem, the minister of external relations, held separate meetings with a number of diplomatic representatives in our country. Afonso van Dunem received Nabil al-Salawi, the Egyptian ambassador; (Hassan Buick Manave), the Algerian ambassador; (Patrick Fairweather), the British ambassador; and (Francesco de Karsten), the Italian ambassador. Minister Afonso van Dunem discussed bilateral issues with the five ambassadors. /as heard/ /Text/ /Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 15 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

ARMED FORCES KILL 46 'BANDITS'--The Angolan Armed Forces have over the last few days been increasing their actions against the puppet gangs in the pay of the racist Pretoria regime. The glorious FAPLA forces killed 46 counterrevolutionaries and captured another 2 in the provinces of Benguela, Huambo, Bie, and Moxico. They also captured a number of weapons of various types and calibers, two South African communication radios, and a large assortment of ammunition. An official source told ANGOP that the FAPLA forces also captured documents carried by the UNITA bandits. /Text/ /Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 16 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

MEETINGS WITH CUBAN, ANC ENVOYS—Afonso van Dumen Mbinda, the Angolan minister of external relations, met separately the day before yesterday Robeto Cruz, the Cuban charge d'affaires in Angola, and (Uriah Makheba), the representative of the ANC of South Africa. Discussed during the meetings were issues of bilateral interest. /Text/ /Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 25 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

UNITA 'PUPPETS' KILLED--The FAPLA forces killed 35 UNITA puppets in the first 2 weeks of this month. These actions, which were carried out in the area of the fourth military region, permitted the liberation of 129 people who had been abducted by UNITA. /Text/ /Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 18 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

CASUALTY REPORT ON UNITA 'CRIMINALS'--The year 1985 was decisive for the FAPLA forces stationed in Benguela, who inflicted heavy defeats on the UNITA armed bandits. Approximately 1,000 criminals of the notorious UNITA gang were killed and 65 captured in actions carried out throughout Benguela Province in 1985. During this period, more than 10 former UNITA men surrendered to our forces and more than 300 weapons of imperialist origin were captured, as well as a large assortment of military equipment and documents. Due to these important FAPLA actions, 3,200 people were freed from the 30 bandit camps which were destroyed by our forces. In this year of defense of the people's revolution, the FAPLA forces in Benguela Province are determined to preserve the revolutionary gains which have been achieved by annihilating the domestic and foreign enemies of our revolution. /Text/ /Luanda Pomestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 22 Jan 86 MB/ 12228

CSO: 3400/948

BOTSWANA

SATUCC CALLS FOR LIBERATION OF RSA, NAMIBIA

MB170746 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 0511 GMT 17 Jan 86

/Text/ The executive secretary of the Southern African Trade Union Coordination Council /SATUCC/, Dr (Kashakuffa Tyrana), has called on free nations to assist South Africa and Namibia to obtain their independence at all costs.

Addressing a press conference at his office in Gaborone yesterday afternoon, Dr (Tyrana) said as long as the oppressed nationals of the countries were not free, nations should continue to provide their assistance until they became free. Dr (Tyrana) took the opportunity to circulate resolutions of a recent consolidated meeting of SATUCC which convened in Zambia, in which delegates reaffirmed their total condemnation of the security laws in South Africa, the current state of emergency, and the installation of a puppet regime in Namibia. Delegates also resolved to redouble their determination to pursue social, economic, and political action until they had secured respect for the freedom and the dignity of all human beings, irrespective of race, in South Africa and until the country is liberated. They also called on the establishment and consistent pursuance of a policy of equal opportunity and treatment for employment and occupation irrespective of race, color, creed, or sex, and political affiliation.

Pretoria was also called on to unconditionally release all political prisoners and lift a ban on all organizations in which all political exiles will return. They also committed themselves to assisting in giving active support to the SADCC countries in their resistance against all the destabilization actions of the Pretoria regime in the region. Delegates further called on SADCC countries and the international community to sever political, cultural, commercial and diplomatic relations with South Africa and to ensure that any such agreements are stopped.

/12228

CSO: 3400/948

GUINEA

PRESIDENT ANNOUNCES REFORM, DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Conakry HOROYA in French 22 Dec 85 pp 1-5

[22 December speech by General Lansana Conte]

[Text] My fellow Guineans:

Today I am introducing a program for the country and the men who will carry it out.

What does Guinea need?

Free and enterprising producers, a government that serves development.

For the time being, it has neither one nor the other.

In order to measure the scope of the task ahead, we must understand how the system we inherited operates.

In the beginning, a group of men gained control of the country and the resources of its subsoil. The gold, diamonds and bauxite were plundered either directly or through mining companies.

While these men lived in opulence, the country was forsaken.

Rhetoric diverted the people's attention from the real situation.

For 26 years, politics replaced production.

The consequences for the economy, the people and the state are dramatic.

The health of an economy can be measured by the soundness of its currency.

The syli is the reflection of the Guinean economy: gravely ill.

The closing of the borders, the country's economy isolation, made it possible to keep it at an artificial level far higher than its real value.

The country's masters were thus able to import the luxury items they consumed in abundance and traffic in foreign exchange and goods.

But all activities became disorganized.

An overevaluated currency facilitated imports and discouraged local production.

Why produce locally when one can buy at a lower price abroad?

Guinean rice gave way to imported rice, sold at one-fifth its real value.

Through supplies, the government controlled the country. Not content to buy consciences, it also bought bellies.

Guinean rice and coffee flowed across the borders, sold at low prices but in foreign exchange traded on the black market.

Those who sold them still made money, but Guinea lost. It was feeding other countries without making a profit and had to import food at great expense.

It did not have the foreign exchange it needed to make investments essential to economic development and social progress: roads, electric power plants, hospitals, schools and so on.

In the cities, the people became accustomed to living off the crumbs from the system: pilfering, and trafficking of all kinds.

Production was neglected. The result was the black market, real or artificial shortages, high prices.

The spirit of initiative was discouraged. Getting rich was poorly looked upon, improving oneself dangerous.

Immobility and irresponsibility became virtues, especially among government employees.

Theft and corruption reigned.

Like natural resources, human resources were squandered. Like materials goods, moral values deteriorated.

Of the House of Guinca, only the facade was maintained. Only foreign policy interested the government.

At home, the government has disappeared. Taxes no longer came in; justice not served. Instead of arresting the thieves, the police started to steal in their own behalf. Every civil servant took his cut.

The state, or rather, that which took its place, became the biggest crook in Guinea.

In its place, concealing the system, one had the party.

The party has now disappeared, but the system is still there.

It coils amidst the ruins of the state and the economy.

To drive it out, we need profound reforms.

This will not come about in a day or without effort.

The transition period will be difficult.

We shall succeed only through work.

But this time, my fellow Guineans, you will not be sacrificing yourselves for the profit of only a handful of men. You are now responsible for your future. It is your own well-being that you will build.

Building a State Serving Development

First of all, we must build a government that serves development.

Guinea needs civil servants who exclusively serve their country, responsible and effective government employees, conscious of belonging to a team that plays a decisive role in our future.

Without a common objective, without solidarity between its members, a team cannot win.

Today, in the administration, everyone keeps the ball for himself. Information does not circulate; colleagues and subordinates are ignored.

When competence exists, it is poorly used.

The choice of men depends more on personal relations than on real qualifications.

Structures are poorly adapted and responsibilities totally diluted. No one dares to make a decision. Everything goes to the top.

This cannot continue!

A man cannot by himself direct a big country like ours.

In order for each one to know what he must do, be capable of doing it and feel like doing it, we are going to reform the administration.

In the civil service, we have inherited disorder.

In order to see where we are, we are conducting a count of civil servants and government employees.

At the same time, we are defining the tasks of each department, the appropriate structures and the posts to be filled.

Men will then be appointed to these posts based on their competence.

The selection will be made following preliminary training provided by experts in the area concerned.

Those not appointed will be placed on a special waiting list. Their salary will be maintained but access to civil service departments will be prohibited.

After additional training, some of them will return to their places in the administration.

Redeployment in the private sector will be encouraged by retirement bonuses, guaranteed bank loans and training sessions.

Those not taking advantage of the opportunities offered to them, either involving reintegration into the civil service or redeployment in the private sector, will be dismissed following the reorganization period.

The needs of the new Guinean administration will be limited.

We shall therefore be able to reduce personnel and pay those remaining in government service better.

The salaries of government workers must soon enable them to live appropriately with their families, with no need to seek additional income elsewhere.

This reform is essential.

I hope it will be carried out with the necessary authority and competence.

For that purpose, I am creating within the presidency the Office of General Commissioner for Administrative Reform, to be under my direct authority.

For the great majority of government employees, the current situation combines all the disadvantages.

Made responsible, newly trained and well-paid, they will in the future make up the Administration of National Recovery.

Getting the Economy on Its Feet

An abandoned vehicle, long deprived of adequate maintenance: Such is the Guinean economy today.

To get it back on its feet is the task of all of us.

In order to get off to a new start on a sound footing, we must first of all reorganize it completely, then see that it does not get off the track. In order to do so, we must maintain the necessary balances. Finally, we must know where we are headed. Otherwise, others will take us somewhere we do not want to go!

I am proposing to the Guinean people today a plan for development that we shall have to further define and carry out together.

The goal is self-sufficiency in all products essential to our well-being: food, housing and clothing.

We must see that our domestic market is controlled by national enterprises designed to fiit our needs.

In carrying out this project, the government will assume its responsibility.

It will no longer take the place of Guineans, but when necessary, will aid and protect them.

Our economy must be "run in." It cannot without risk be suddenly opened up to foreign competition. It will gradually take the path of liberalism.

Economic Recovery Depends on Monetary Rehabilitation

First of all, we must overhaul the vehicle.

Monetary rehabilitation must come before any economic recovery.

In 1986, Guinea will have a new currency.

Changing millions of bank notes cannot be done overnight.

We shall do so when the conditions ensuring the success of the operation exist.

Anyone with foreign exchange will be able to exchange it at a rate better reflecting the true value of our currency.

A banking system worthy of the name is being set up.

Reorganization of the Central Bank is well underway.

Starting tomorrow, the other national banks will be closed.

Three banks with mixed or private capital, Guinean and foreign, are or will soon be set up in Conakry and the interior of the country.

These are real banks; you can trust them. Your money will be constantly and totally available to you. If you have a solid proposal, you will be able to borrow money.

Like currency and credit, legal instruments are essential to economic development.

In recent months, an effort to establish regulations has been made.

It is still marked by the spirit of the system and better expresses the concern for control and trafficking in influence than a desire to promote free enterprise.

I would hope that every Guinean will have the greatest freedom to invest and to set up the business of his choosing.

Approvals will be done away with and procedures simplified to the maximum.

A commission has been instructed to propose urgent measures to be taken in order to establish in Guinea the institutional environment most favorable to the expansion of private initiative, preferably that of our fellow countrymen.

The economy needs clear and precise rules of play. Every individual must know what he can do and what he must not do.

Those who respect these rules will have nothing to fear from the government. Their success or failure will depend on their ability to meet the competition.

Meeting the needs of customers and making profits must also be the rule for the current government sector.

That will be our guide for reorganization.

A profound restructuration with a reduction in personnel is essential for most national enterprises.

Except in strategic domains, we hope that these enterprises will be taken over by the private sector or turned into joint ventures.

We cannot merely go by the criterion of immediate profitability in closing those that should be closed.

We must in fact avoid depriving the country of production capacities that will in the future be useful in achieving our objective of meeting our own basic needs.

Workers' rights will be protected. Previous to any change in status, collective agreements will be negotiated based on the sector of activity. Modern labor laws will guarantee the interests of the workers and those of the enterprises.

Priority to Productive Spending

In a free enterprise economy, the state must maintain the main economic balances: budget, foreign trade.

Otherwise, the vehicle gets off the track, the currency depreciates and reforms fail.

Before collecting taxes, we must create wealth.

Our taxes will encourage investments that create jobs.

Our budgetary receipts are limited. We shall use them in the best interest of the country, reducing operating expenses of the government and giving priority to productive spending.

Foreign exchange is scarce and after the devaluation, it will be much more expensive. It must be saved and bring more into the country.

In this matter, our fellow countrymen abroad can help us a great deal. If each one of them sent 5,000 CFA francs to his family by the official channels, the sum would represent twice the revenue from bauxite for Guinea.

But the important thing is to produce in order to reduce imports and increase exports.

The government must now give priority to helping revive production. It alone will procure income for Guineans, for these who invest at home.

We are going to set up a system of aid to the creation and development of enterprises, giving priority to those which invest at home.

For the national recovery, our farmers are on the front line.

One has but to leave Conakry to realize the effort they made even before the aid planned reached them.

In order to ease their task, the state will do everything in its power.

In the cities, the drop in parallel incomes will pose grave social problems.

Experts do not always think of these things and reforms stumble upon them.

We must immediately replace the speculative income that will disappear as a result of income from work.

International organizations and friendly countries must know that the creation and development of small and medium-size enterprises are in short-range terms our absolute priority.

It is through specific, concrete action well adapted to the needs of each individual that the government can effectively intervene:

For example, by encouraging the voluntary regrouping of enterprises in a single trade in order to supply and store raw materials.

The building sector is the one in which production potential and needs to be met are the greatest.

If that sector is rapidly organized, the government will give it priority for all construction and remodeling and repair of administrative buildings.

I hope that by 1986, a far-reaching program of school construction can be carried out by Guinean entrepreneurs.

Producing and Marketing Guinean

Producing and marketing Guinean must now be our slogan.

There can be no free economy without free trade.

Today in Guinea, there is government commerce and the traffickers, with the former feeding the latter.

In state stores, products are misappropriated and sold on the black market at exorbitant prices.

It is in everyone's interest that real commerce be established in Guinea, working with large quantities and therefore able to enjoy reasonable profits by selling goods at a fair price.

At the present time, a kilo of rice costs 20 sylis for the privileged few, while others pay 100 to 150 sylis.

Through the free play of the market, the price of rice will be set at a middle level corresponding to its real cost plus the normal profit of the merchant.

Normal prices and supply will be assured and the people will benefit thereby, as will the country, for only fair remuneration for the work of our peasants will make it possible to achieve food self-sufficiency.

Today, I am making the following decisions: Ration cards will now be eliminated. The ALIMAG and ALIDI state stores are closed and others will be in the future.

During 1986, the government will try to make the foreign exchange needed to pay for imports available to merchants who have entered into an agreement with it concerning the nature of the goods to be imported and the level of retail prices.

The economic rehabilitation will not be without sacrifice.

Prices of products imported by the government, meaning paid for in foreign exchange obtained at the official rate, will go up sharply.

These prices are now abnormally low, as are salaries of government employees.

We shall readjust both.

Subsidies will be temporarily granted to the main public services such as transportation, so that they will not make users bear the entire burden of the increases they will have to suffer.

Such action is needed for harmonious economic and social development.

Priority to Improving Living Conditions in Rural Areas

The government must neither produce nor market itself, but it cannot be content to be a passive spectator of the economic game. If it is, we shall have the law of the jungle.

We know the harmful effects of uncontrolled liberalism on African society.

We do not want to crush the weak by the strong: profiteers, speculators and international groups.

We do not want the sole criterion of immediate profitability for the choice of investments. Our rural areas would be abandoned.

We do not want a minority of the privileged under outside influence to impose its type of society on a people who have remained loyal to their traditions.

We want the total opposite:

The development of Guinea by Guineans themselves. There are enough of them and they are intelligent and enterprising.

We want our country to be developed preferably by nationals, without dependency on others from which we cannot later free ourselves.

Foreigners wishing to invest in Guinea are welcome if they do not meddle in government affairs and if they give priority to investment at home.

It is our farmers who will rehuild the country, ensure food self-sufficiency and the development of exports.

We must prevent the rural exodus and encourage a return to the land, giving priority to improving living conditions in rural areas.

Solidarity and Decentralization

We are making the choice of a society based on natural solidarity placed in the service of development.

Strengthening such solidarity where it still exists is the purpose of decentralization.

Creating it at the most complex levels of economic and social life is the stake of contractual and decentralized planning.

All policies must be articulated around these two guidelines.

Traditions of cooperation and mutual aid are still alive and well in rural areas.

Thanks to them, Guinea survived 60 years of colonization and 26 years of a dictatorship.

Our people join together spontaneously to build a house, harvest a field or help the sick.

This is not a matter of politics, but of solidarity.

I was thinking of this natural solidarity when I proposed that our rural people set up districts.

I was not always properly understood.

In many places, the PRL [Local Revolutionary Authorities] were set up. The old officials monopolized power. Elsewhere, districts that were too vast were created, meaning that the villages located the farthest from the chief town are forgotten, except when it is a matter of paying taxes.

Nothing lasting can be built on such bases.

The district must group villages that have formed close ties, often based on family relationship or alliances, for the villages are accustomed to organizing their daily life on collective bases.

Their inhabitants will then have no difficulty in choosing those worthy of representing them and in deciding on measures of collective interest to be taken.

Wherever necessary and without any limitations being imposed upon them, our villagers must redefine the limits of their districts and appoint new representatives.

The districts must enable the people to handle their traditional way of life in complete freedom. But their size is inadequate for undertaking economic development actions.

To build a road, a small dam, to clear a small piece of land, creare a market, get a school or out-patient clinic started, it will often be necessary for several of them to join forces.

New solidarity will gradually be created between neighboring districts and the people will become aware of the need to group together within larger units.

These will be the rural development communities that I hope to see gradually created.

New Communities Freely Governed

At the same time, in the cities, communes will be created based on the districts [quartiers].

These new community groupings will be freely administered and will have adequate resources available to ensure real financial autonomy.

The government's means of intervention will be found at the level of the prefectures.

In addition to the powers that always come under the government: justice, police, administrative documents and official papers, this intervention will essentially consist of development assistance.

The necessary means will be placed in the hands of my direct and exclusive representatives, the prefects, who will thus have complete responsibility, to me and to the people, for the execution of government policy in their prefecture.

The current territorial districts helped the previous regime to impose the intervention of the central government in all acts of daily life.

They will be gradually done away with and replaced by units more in keeping with the wishes and needs of the people, as well as the cultural and economic conditions of the country.

Initially, in order to ensure the national recovery, the prefecture will be the place of government intervention and the rural development community the place of action by the people.

These communities will promote economic development in our rural areas.

Priority to Small Projects

Whether it be a matter of roads or wells, schools or clinics, our peasants are the best judges of their needs.

They can partially meet these needs by relying on their own resources, but also on the aid of the government and the international community.

This aid will not spontaneously go to the villages. The trend is toward great projects costing millions of dollars. Small projects are forgotten.

I want to reverse this trend and truly give priority to miniprojects.

In order to do this, we are going to bring our local communities into the drafting of planning.

Every community will have to define the investments it wants to complete first within its territory, the human and financial means it has available and those it needs to proceed.

Such projects will be brought together at the prefectoral and national levels, where the necessary coordination and coherence will be provided.

Those chosen will be integrated into the National Investment Plan, which will thus have an important aspect of local execution.

An important part of the resources allocated to development by the state and international cooperation will be distributed among the different projects on a contractual basis. The government will make its contribution insofar as the local community has mobilized its own resources.

Contractual and Decentralized Planning

Contractual and decentralized planning will thus be the essential tool for the balanced development of Guinea.

Under the Office of President of the Republic, the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation will define development plans for the country and verify whether the different sectorial policies are in keeping with those plans.

It will draft the national investment budget for the state and, in concert with the Ministry of Economy and Finance, provide technical and financial followup.

Finally, it will define a debt strategy.

Guinea needs international aid.

But that aid must one day be paid back.

In order not to leave too great a debt to those who come after us, we shall select projects to be carried out and give priority to investments encouraging the country's development.

Guinea is engaged in a race.

Some join a race and sign anything in the name of the government.

The Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation must put an end to this waste.

It must also coordinate the action of foreign experts working with our government and ensure that such action will be in keeping with the orientations of our policies.

In Guinea, we no longer know how to operate a government or an economy.

We must learn anew.

I have called upon experts to help us.

They are here to serve our country, not to lead in our place.

Experts are not familiar with local conditions. They must work under our supervision and alongside Guineans capable of learning through such contact, in order that the latter may one day replace them.

Experts are very expensive, especially those from private companies. We have very qualified personnel; we shall call upon them.

There are too many experts in some places; not enough in others. Because of a lack of coordination, technical assistance is poorly used.

We must establish order.

This assistance is sometimes very effective.

Some experts have placed themselves in the service of our country with competence, devotion and without ulterior motives.

I wish to congratulate and encourage them.

We must ward against two excesses: thinking that we are good for nothing and that only foreigners will solve our problems; and believing that we can manage by ourselves, without any outside help.

Do not worry, my fellow Guineans. I shall not let Guinea be recolonized by anyone. We shall preserve an independence won under conditions of which we are proud, but that pride must not be ill-placed.

We must know our limits and learn to go beyond them.

It is no longer by closing our borders that we shall become the masters of our destiny. Rather, it is by improving in all domains and by giving up the mistakes of the past once and for all.

Making Guinea a State of Law

On 3 April 1984, we crushed a bloody dictatorship, without excesses or vengeance, without shedding a drop of blood.

We turned our back on the conduct against which we rebelled.

International opinion hailed the new regime with astonishment and admiration.

Too much has been expected of Guinea with respect to human rights.

Men do not change quickly. Times of suffering are not easily forgotten.

When the opportunity was given to them, some took revenge on those who symbolized a hated past.

We have fallen back into the vicious cycle of repression and vengeance.

I am deeply convinced that we must cease maintaining the resentment that accentuates our divisions and I hope that everyone shares this conviction.

Let us know how to overcome our weaknesses and let us not look back.

It will soon be easier, when 'he system has been crushed once and for all.

Today, that system is still present in its worst forms, in the practices which our people had hoped were gone forever.

The conduct of certain government officials is inadmissible.

Arbitrary arrests, whose sole purpose is to take money from innocent people, must cease immediately.

Ministers of justice and security have an overriding, urgent task to perform: making Guinea a state of law, a nation that respects human rights and individual freedoms.

Strengthening National Unity

A united country and an effective government: In order better to achieve this double objective, I have decided to carry out a far-reaching reform of our institutions.

Balance and solidarity between our regions constitute the cornerstone of our development policy.

At the present time, those who head Guinea are more concerned with becoming known abroad than with acting to change it.

Rather than traveling, going to our own regions is more useful!

To strengthen our unity, the CMRN [Military Committee for National Recovery] will be present throughout the country.

To make our action more effective, men who have perfectly understood the meaning of our policies will implement it within our territory.

In the difficult period of transition in which we now find ourselves, there is more responsibility in heading a region than a ministerial department.

I have decided to create posts of resident minister at the head of each and to place men in whom I have complete confidence, both with respect to loyalty to the principles of the CMRN as well as their ability to assume a particularly difficult task.

I know they will fulfill their mission in the service of the national conscientiously and with courage.

With the same concern for better administration of the territory, I have named sons of the country to head each prefecture. Placed under the double control of the central government and the comm-nity from which they spring, they will be most anxious to do their duties as well as possible.

No one must be forgotten in the national development.

Our unity will be thereby strengthened.

Henceforth, J hope to speak to Guineans without having to refer to their origin or the place in which they live.

Everyone has the same place in my concern.

Everyone has the same rights and the same duties.

Everyone can participate in his own place and his own way in the material and moral reconstruction of the country.

The new government will take up this task of reconstruction with renewed fervor.

New structures will make the work of each and every one more effective.

My fellow Guineans, the trust which you have in me I ask you to extent to the team I have gathered around me.

I have tried to make the best possible choice.

I may have been mistaken.

I have certainly forgotten men of great value.

If they so wish, all will find a place in the service of their country.

I am asking the ministers and all high officials of the country to fulfill the duties I have entrusted to them in keeping with the guidelines I have just presented to the nation.

Responsible and solidary men will build in Guinea a society based on contracts freely entered into.

Ties broken by a regime that survived by wiping out everything around it will be renewed.

In the beginning, these ties will be fragile; Guinea will be recovering.

I am asking everyone to bear this in mind and to have but one concern: serving the country.

Long live Guinea!

11,464

CSO: 3419/183

GUINEA

PRESIDENT'S CALL FOR UNITY BACKED

Conakry HOROYA in French 28 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Sekou Fofana]

[Text] National unity is now an indispensable requirement for the survival and development of the young African nations. Highly heterogeneous in their ethnic makeup and brought together by the chance drawing of colonial borders, they are now being called upon to merge in the same crucible and forge a national type. One therefore has two concepts reflecting a homogeneous and common environment with underlying values such as mutual understanding and trust, tolerance, equal rights and duties.

Taking up this fundamental issue in his program-speech of 22 December, now reflecting a fundamental concern of the CMRN [Military Committee for National Recovery], General Lansana Conte stated the following:

"Henceforth, I wish to speak to the Guinean people without reference to their origins or the place where they live.

"They all have an equal place in my concerns.

"They all have the same rights and duties.

"Each one may participate in his own place and his own way in the material and moral reconstruction of the country."

These were the key words, the pursuers of ethnocentricity, a scourge eating away at national unity by the feelings of frustration it provokes due to the fact that ethnocentricity looks first at one's origins and ethnic affiliation rather than at the qualities making a good citizen such as work, moral integrity and patriotism. Gen Lansana Conte asks us to root out that dangerous blemish and to extirpate it from ourselves and around us, seeking other criteria for evaluating man. His statement was a warning to his aides concerning that evil.

In the new Guinean administration, the administration of recovery, there will be no no more Malinke, Peulh or Sousou departments, the privileged domains based on

nepotism and other pernicious bonds of complicity. Let the warning not fall on deaf ears. Moreover, is ethnocentricity not the preferred weapon of the opportunists, inclined, in order to achieve their personal ambitions, toward cheap maneuvering on the deceptive pretext of some ethnic cause to be defended?

It is real unity that is in question then, the unity of the heart, to be built in the place of circumstantial alliances based on passing interests. And the guarantee of that unity will be equality of rights and duties for those included in the national entity, as well as a consensus on the subject of the great national problems, for the new Guinea will be the Guinea shaped by us and for all of us, following the watchword of a community of thought and action.

More than ever then, the unity which the CMRN will endeavor to restore will be built around clearly defined objectives in their economic, cultural and social dimensions.

Backed by human rights and the virtues of dialogue, it (unity) will thus ensure an atmosphere of political and social stability that will make Guinea a haven of peace and security for national and foreign investors.

More than ever, Guineans have every interest in supporting the national program of the chief of state and the sooner the better.

11,464

CSO: 3419/184

GUINEA

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH CONCENTRATES ON ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Conakry HOROYA in French 28 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by Mamadou Saliou Balde]

[Text] The speech-program of the chief of state, General Lansana Conte, a speech that burst the abcess and turned the knife in the wound, is now a subject for reflection and discussion and provides a basis for action at all levels and in all sectors of national activity.

This far-ranging debate is mainly centered around economic problems, however, problems of production, marketing, distribution and monetary rehabilitation. These are key sectors around which the efforts of everyone must revolve.

The battle for development, the requirements of progress and the need for planning introducing strictness into the management of the country's economy have taken on singular emphasis in President Conte's message on the state of the nation.

The new guidelines constitute a plea, a fervent appeal for the accomplishment of the objectives that led the army to take power. While pointing up the degree of deterioration in the situation that the Second Republic inherited, the chief of state did not fail to emphasize the weaknesses of the new regime and those of our production apparatus that turns out the goods and services so indispensable to the nation's life.

It is therefore up to us to rectify the troublesome situations prevailing in sectors such as agriculture or industry, two sectors whose spectacular records in the recent past gave us too many illusions. This is why we must first of all make a precise, lucid and courageous evaluation of our inadequacies and other failings. No longer is it a matter of overall analyses, but rather, we must get to the bottom of things, make the diagnosis of each setup and sector in their innermost workings, acting surgically to rid the national economy of all gangrenous areas. This salutary action is in line with the continuity of the recovery initiated on 3 April 1984.

If one asks why the economy does not work, the answer is well-known and requires little further emphasis. Some blame the structures and means of work, while others add the lack of training. But that is not everything. Some

rightly add that the answer does not essentially reside in technical, moral and social considerations. While it is technical and moral, it is also and above all political.

Actually, the debate is on a level with the subject: It is national.

What means must be used to rehabilitate the Guinean economy and give consistent thrust to the production of goods and services necessary to the welfare of the people [portion of text deleted]

Generally speaking, when this question is asked, managers and other planners immediately -- and sometimes pessimistically -- emphasize the factors of economic waste, absenteeism, funds squandered, theft, the well-known ups and downs of production units, the parasitic PDG bureaucracy, financing and supply difficulties, and so on. But that is not all.

All the nation's live forces must assume responsibility for the economic rehabilitation. Sound management presumes a proper organization of production and distribution, programming suited to the speed of development of our domestic and foreign trade, aggressive and well-thought-out denationalization, the president said.

The absence of initiative or patriotic motivation has always led our economic machinery to very harmful friction. This ranges from the smallest office to industrial units which, lacking good planning, often experience breaks in stock. Machinery breaks down and no spare parts have been provided. Underdevelopment mainly means the lack of planning, long waits following letters or emergency phone calls abroad, endless red tape, and so on.

Strict management, discipline, responsibility, the development of private initiative and fair prices will make it possible to begin the rapid takeoff of the Guinean economy and finally, to achieve a solidary and fraternal alliance between the cities and rural areas in which the latter are no longer reduced to a subservient role. As the president asked, we must do away with prejudices, practices that have more to do with exorcism than underlying conditions and the particular situation in which we are in.

Economic rehabilitation must be accompanied by control that does not solely mean sanctions, but in addition, followup, proper coordination and tireless attacks on bureaucratic phenomena and deviations.

If one takes this view, one will beware of the current situation, in which it is the diploma that is rewarded with pay rather than effective work. Our leaders must no longer preach out of an excess of moralism. War on parasitism, absenteeism, laziness and carelessness is one of the requirements of the economic recovery.

Clearly, Guineans must now leave their rear positions that made them mere spectators, passive observers of the key problems of the nation, for, as President Lansana Conte has said, "The life and death of Guinea are in our hands."

The recovery on which we are now embarking therefore gives everyone: the managers of state enterprises, operators in the private economic sector and other city and rural workers, precise tasks in the plan to develop production and productivity, but also on the level of professional and moral education.

On the effective accomplishment of these tasks, clearly presented in the speechprogram of 22 December 1985, depends the well-being which each and every one of us so ardently desires.

11,464

CSO: 3419/184

GUINEA

NEED TO CUT RICE IMPORTS INDICATED

Conakry HOROYA in French 31 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] Among the decisions made by the chief of state and published on 22 December, the elimination of ration cards for basic food items, particularly rice, is the one catching the attention the most. It was a courageous political decision aimed at consolidating the national independence, asserting the sovereignty of the people, who must henceforth tackle the job of producing by themselves to meet their needs and export so as to be able to import what Guinea needs for its development.

Actually, this country has the advantage of bringing together four highly different regions from the physical, climatic and ecological standpoints. This diversity offers the possibility of a harmonious geo-economic complementariness enabling it to have the whole mosaic of cultures found in West Africa. Guinea possesses great agricultural potential. It has been particularly blessed by nature: Its land is fertile and demands only human effort to yield its fruits. There is no dearth of water or sun either.

These conditions make the importation of rice to feed our people (85 percent of them farmers) a veritable scandal.

Before colonization, when our people had neither the knowledge nor the current technical or technological means to master nature, rice was not imported. The same was true throughout the colonial period. Even in the early 1960's, the Guinean people were excessively fond of the exceptional flavor of locally produced rice. At the time, consuming the so-called "India" imported rice was looked down upon, considered to be the practice of those without taste.

Unfortunately, a certain policy caused that commodity, the fruit of the effort of others, to gradually replace the local product and become a luxury item. It expanded its "empire" to even the most remote villages. Along the way, it destroyed the food habits of the people and consolidated the foundations of laziness. In other words, importing discouraged production.

Then came the bitter experiments of the successive Centers of Modernization and Rural Development (CMDR), the Rural Education Centers, the Socialist Compounds, the Type A Production Brigades, the Harness Production Brigades (BAP), the Mechanized Production Brigades (BMP) and finally, the sadly famous FAC

[Communal Agricultural Farm] and FAPA [Agro-Pastoral District Farms] experiments. The institution of taxes paid in kind and other marketing norms that were in fact only forms of systematic looting of the fruits of the work of peasants profiting leaders and other managers of state enterprises, finally gave the coup de grace to national agriculture.

As a result, the spectre of hunger loomed over the country. The importance of agriculture remained verbal. Everyone began to go into harangues about "producing to become self-sufficient." but at the same time, the rural areas were losing their best labor. The cities (particularly Conakry, were filled with a veritable army of artificial unemployed, with all that entails in the way of theft, crime and banditry.

At the same time, the government's coffers were also emptied by the importation of some 90,000 tons of rice a year. The practice of supplying, now a political weapon, introduced a false element into the nation's books, thereby preventing any rational planning. Since every father or mother always had to have an astronomical number of dependents on ration cards in order to obtain enough food to feed even relatives remaining in the village and then bargain with the rest to make ends meet, no census could be exact.

Among the ill effects of the supply practice were many other things, without mentioning the fact that citizens living in Conakry, where the government employees were always regularly provided for, lived off the parallel market. Thus, for most people, the allowance was clearly inadequate. They were consequently forced to buy the rest of their food on a market where prices ranges from 100 to 150 sylis a kilo.

For a family consuming 100 kilograms of rice a month and receiving only 50 at the official price, the total expense amounted to some 8,500 sylis. In other words, buying rice at 80 sylis a kilo at the official price means saving 500 sylis on uncompressible expenditures.

One must therefore hail the decision made by President Lansana Conte, a decision doing away with the supply policy. It is a salutary decision that guarantees the future insofar as it determines clearly and concretely the line of conduct that must be followed with perseverance and firmness so as to ensure the country's progress, the nation's independence and adequate supplies to meet the people's needs.

It is therefore a matter of making the necessary sacrifice in order to beat the rice tyranny, working hard and producing enough to diversify food.

No one can ignore that work is the only true source of wealth and happiness. Through the elimination of the ration cards and the closing of the ALIDI and ALIMAG, the sources of intolerable trafficking, the chief of state has honored work.

That is the important thing, for that is what ensures progress and guarantees the future.

11,464

CSO: 3419/184

LESOTHO

SITUATION OF MILITARY COUP DISCUSSED

MB251029 London BBC World Service in English 0635 GMT 25 Jan 86

/From "This Week and Africa" program/

/Text/ On Monday morning, Lesotho's leader Chief Leabua Jonathan was ousted in a bloodless coup by the head of the paramilitary force, Mr General Justice Lekhanya. The coup followed more than a fortnight of confrontation between Chief Jonathan and the South Africa Government. The South Africans were demanding the expulsion of members of the ANC from Lesotho. Chief Jonathan refused and in retaliation, the South Africans mounted an economic blockade of the country. Our South African correspondent, Graham Leach has been in Maseru for most of this week. Robin White asked him if the coup had been popular.

Begin recording / Leach / I think without question the fact that so many people spilled out onto the streets when news of the coup spread was a firm indication that they had about enough of the government of Chief Leabua Jonathan, bearing in mind that he had ruled very autocratically over the previous 15 years or so, on several occasions waving aside elections, actually declaring null and void the original election under which he seized power. So, I think all that coupled with the economic position of Lesotho and the people in the streets, led to a sense of relief that this army coup had taken place. That had also the expectation on the part of ordinary people that this would soon lead to the economic blockade by South Africa being lifted.

/White/ Now it is obvious that the South Africans are quite pleased with what has happened, but do you think they were in any way involved in the coup?

/Leach/ There is no obvious evidence that this new military rulers of Lesotho were set up by the South Africans, as it were. I think really the crucial moment came in those Friday talks last week in Pretoria when Pretoria laid it on the line and said to the delegation from Lesotho that either Chief Jonathan goes and the ANC are expelled or the blockade remains in force. Now, the Lesotho delegation was strongly represented by military personnel—senior officers—and I think they were clearly impressed by this. They, anyway, were getting very concerned about the way internal developments were going in Lesotho: the activities of the armed youth league and the general threat posed by the ANC to the authority of the state and army. All this came together, and I think quite clearly, over the weekend, last weekend, there was a general

meeting of minds among senior ranks in the military that Chief Jonathan would have to go to try to restore some authority in the country and to try to unwind the crisis with South Africa and get the economic stranglehold lifted.

/White/ What has happened to Chief Jonathan?

/Leach/ Well, I last saw him 7 days ago at his mountain retreat. This was on the eve of the coup when he was saying he had never been so popular before during his 30 years in politics. As far as we know, he is still there. When I last saw him, there was one soldier on the gate. There was no indication that a military coup was about to take place. The latest word we have is that he is still there. Several other ministers are confined to their homes, notably the information minister, Desmond Sixishe, but, as far as other ministers are concerned, there is no firm evidence that they are under house arrest, although I think probably they are staying in their homes for their own good.

/White/ Now, you mention the possible reopening of the border. Now that the Lesotho Government has agreed that ANC people should go, is the border going to reopen immediately?

/Leach/ I think it will gradually be reopened. I don't think there will be a sudden lifting of the blockade. I think the South Africans will gradually lessen or relax the restrictions as they see evidence of AN men leaving the country. I recall that when the coup first took place, the South Africans rewarded the overthrow of Chief Jonathan, if I can put it like that, by allowing the fuel train in, the first petrol to arrive in Lesotho in several days. I think that as the ANC people begin to leave in drops and drabs, so the blockade will be lifted in drips and drabs.

/White/ Do you think the South Africans are looking in the end to force Lesotho to sign a Nkomati-type agreement?

Leach/ Well, I think this will be their ultimate aim or would be their ultimate aim, but I think there is a mutual recognition of interests here, and the Lesotho Government, while more willingly disposed toward South Africa and recognizing Lesotho's ultimate dependence upon South Africa, nevertheless, wants to maintain its pan-African credibility keeping on the side with other black African states. I think this would be recognized by Pretoria. I don't think they want to push the new regime too far. I think they will spot in the new army rulers as a government they can do business with in the longer term. So, I think that they may well say to themselves: alright, we realize you can't go for a fully-fledged Nkomati-type accord, but let us instead secure a firm understanding about what is going to happen to the ANC and they would hope, I think, that in the longer term the two governments can have more realistic basis of understanding as Pretoria would regard it and it would not be the hostile confrontation that existed when Chief Jonathan was in power. /end recording/

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CSO: 3400/947

LESOTHO

BBC INTERVIEWS RSA EDITOR ON BLOCKADE

MB221056 London BBC World Service in English 0709 GMT 22 Jan 86

/From the "24 Hours" program/

/Text/ In the aftermath of the coup in Lesotho, the country's new military rulers have sent a high-level delegation to Cape Town with the aim of negotiating an end to South Africa's economic blockade. Heading the delegation which held talks with the South African foreign minister was Lesotho's Planning Minister Chief Sekhonyana. Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES, first explained to David Lay the significance of his selection.

/Begin recording/ /Myburgh/ Sekhonyana is known to be a confident of the general who is now in command of Lesotho. He is also known to have important friendships in South Africa which seems to suggest that the new regime in Maseru is rather more anxious than the previous one to normalize relations with Pretoria, and the first indications are that traffic across the border from South Africa into Maseru, that is both travelers and goods, has suddenly started speeding up today.

<u>/Lay/</u> But what are the Pretoria government's terms for lifting the blockade entirely?

<u>/Myburgh/</u> They have announced that they weren't going to compromise on these terms, and they still insisted on the removal from Lesotho of those members of the ANC whose names and addresses they insist that they have given to Lesotho Government.

/Lay/ Does Lesotho have much choice, will it, really, have to give in?

/Myburgh/ I think it has very scant choice anyway. As you know, it is utterly surrounded by South African territory. It is one of the most impoverished little kingdoms in the world. It is utterly dependent on South Africa. The ANC, in many ways, has been a little unfair on tiny little Lesotho because it has exploited the situation in the country which really isn't all that capable of controlling its own very mountainous borders anyway. That there is a significant ANC presence and basically, whoever is governing the country has to decide whether it is going to offer hospitality to the ANC and invite Pretoria's chagrin or whether it is going to ask the ANC to move on.

/Lay/ Now if the new rulers are not prepared to deliver to Pretoria immediately, will the South Africans reimpose the economic blockade, could it be switched on and off to try and force Lesotho's hand?

/Myburgh/ The blockade couldn't.../change of thought/ it has been imposed before. It is not actually a blockade; they really make it very, very difficult for people and products to get through the frontier; and they have done it before and they can keep it up indefinitely, I mean, South Africa suffers no injury. They insist that there is.../change of thought/ strictly that it is not a blockade, that traffic does get through, it is just retarded a bit. Well, it is retarded to the point of extreme inconvenience to the point where I think that the Government in Maseru, whichever one there is has to shout uncle./end recording/

/12228

CSO: 3400/947

LESOTHO

MEMBERSHIP OF NEW COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSED

MB241814 London BBC World Service in English 1700 GMT 24 Jan 86

/From the "Focus on Africa" program/

/Text/ Lesotho's new six-man Military Council chaired by Major General Lekhanya was officially sworn in today by King Moshoeshoe. It follows Monday's coup that has toppled Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan. The next move will be the setting up of a Council of Ministers, most of whom presumably will be civilians. That's expected to be sworn in on Monday. Robin White asked Joe Molefe in Maseru who was likely to be in the Council of Ministers.

/Begin recording//Molefe/ It is not known who will be chosen but it is generally believed that it will be citizens who have made significant contribution towards the development of the country in the various fields.

/White/ Such as what kind of people?

/Molefe/ Such as chief senior government officials.

/White/ What about representatives of the political parties?

/Molefe/ I don't think political leaders will be included in the Council of Ministers because, after all, General Lekhanya very early after he took over the administration stated very clearly that he would like the people of Lesotho to forget about the political past and go along with him toward true national reconciliation.

/White/ Won't that be a big disappointment to the people who have been in opposition for so long?

/Molefe/ I don't think it will be a disappointment as such. I think the people who have been in opposition are just happy that there has been a change in the government of the country after so many years of rule by one party.

/White/ How much is known of General Lekhanya? Do you think that he himself has political ambitions to stay on for a long time?

/Molefe/ I don't think General Lekhanya has any political ambitions. General Lekhanya remained at his old office at the barracks in Maseru and then the fact that he did not decide to move into Chief Jonathan's old seat immediately, that in itself is a very strong indication that he has not special ambition for that seat.

/White/ And do you think he might be looking to get out of politics as quickly as possible, then?

/Molefe/ I think so. I think as soon as he is satisfied that things have settled down, he will return everything to civilian rule again.

/White/ Now, yesterday it was reported that some 60 supporters of the ANC were going to leave the country. Now, have those 60 actually left?

/Molefe/ The 60, by 5 o'clock this afternoon had not left. They had actually gathered at the Moshoeshoe International Airport about 20 km south of Maseru waiting to be airlifted.

/White/ Presumably they're going to go to Lusaka?

/Molefe/ Yes, it's generally believed that they will be going to Lusaka. /end recording/

/12228

LESOTHO

ANC SPOKESMAN DENIES KNOWLEDGE OF ZAMBIA AIRLIFT

MB241323 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1318 GMT 24 Jan 86

/Text/ Maseru, 24 Jan SAPA--The chairman of Lesotho's Military Council, Maj Gen Metsing /name as received/ Lekhanya, is expected to brief the Basotho nation on the latest developments on the present border crisis in a nationwide broadcast over Radio Lesotho tonight, said a government spokesman.

The general has made several important moves in trying to resolve the border dispute between Lesotho and South Africa since he toppled Chief Leabua Jonathan in a bloodless coup on Monday.

The Military Council regards the border issue as of the highest priority since Lesotho heavily depends on South Africa for the supply of essential commodities such as: food, petrol and medical supplies.

The government spokesman also announced that General Lekhanya will give his first press conference on Tuesday, 28 January, at 2:30 pm.

Meanwhile arrangements are underway for the airlift of about 60 African National Congress guerrillas from Lesotho to Zambia later today. It is expected that a Zambia Airways jet aircraft will airlift the refugees to Lusaka.

It is understood that South African authorities have already cleared the flight of the refugees across South African airspace, following talks between South African foreign minister, Mr Pil Botha, and representatives of the Lesotho Military Council on Tuesday.

In Lusaka a spokesman for the ANC said the organization had heard nothing of any plans for an airlift of refugees.

She said the refugees were officially recognized as such by the United Nations and Lesotho had no right to remove them from its territory.

South Africa claims the refugees are ANC members and have reportedly called for their repatriation to the republic. Lesotho has declined to acceded to this demand, saying it is obliged under the UN convention on refugees to give them shelter.

Officials of the UN High Commission for Refugees in Maseru were closeted in urgent talks all day today and were not available for comment on the reported evacuation.

/12228

OFFICIAL ISSUE WARNING OVER REFUSAL OF \$5 COIN

AB191340 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English 1200 GMT 19 Jan 86

[Text] The governor of the National Bank of Liberia, Thomas Hanson, and Commerce Minister McLeod Darpoh, in a joint statement have said any businessman refusing the \$5 coin will be fined \$5,000. They also said anyone found guilty of such acts and refused to pay into government revenue the fine of \$5,000 will lose his business license, adding: There is no first or second offense.

According to the LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY, the two government officials were speaking Friday at the Commerce Ministry during a press briefing on the refusal of the P.G. Mobil service station in Sinkor to accept the \$5 coin from customers buying kerosene at the station. In their statement, they also said that the problem that government faces is that of confidence, and business houses refusing to accept the coin will do no help to the country, but to create more problems for the government and its people.

They therefore appealed to the business community and the public to accept the \$5 coin for the survival of our nation and people, adding: The \$5 coin is legal tender just like any other coin and paper currency in circulation in the country.

It can be recalled that the FOOTPRINTS newspaper in its 17 January edition published a story about how many customers were turned down by the P.G. gas station because they did not have the American currency to purchase the kerosene. The paper also indicated that the manager of P.G. gas station, (Carmel McKern), has said his refusal to accept the coin stemmed from the fact that the Liberia Petroleum Refinery Company, LPRC, accepts only currency notes and not coins.

/6662

LIBERIA

AFP COMMENTARY ON CURRENCY PROBLEMS, FOREIGN DEBT

AB181711 Paris AFP in French 0929 GMT 18 Jan 86

[Aiah Matthew Komba commentary: "Aggravation of the Situation After the Introduction of the Liberian Dollar"]

[Text] Abidjan, 18 Jan (AFP)--The timid introduction of the Liberian dollar to compensate for the scarcity of U.S. dollars, the only currency used until now by the oldest republic in Africa, has not enabled Liberia to revive its economy, observers in Monrovia consider. On the contrary the situation aggravated following the government decision in April 1984 to introduce coins on the market baptized "Liberian dollars" to compensate for the scarcity of U.S. dollars in the country's banks, which have lost \$37 million. The new currency, which was issued in the form of 1 and 5 Liberian dollar coins, has been put into circulation.

This initiative was aimed at enabling the payment of salaries and providing the country with the liquidity it needs while keeping the U.S. dollar to pay for imports, and other external obligations, according to bank sources. The external debt of this West African country of 2 million inhabitants is currently at \$1.2 billion.

The introduction of the "Liberian dollar" received an unfavorable welcome, however, from Liberian and foreign businessmen who are afraid of disorganization in the economy, if such measures were to become systematic, it would accelerate inflation which is currently at 40 percent. In addition, the country's economy is mainly controlled by Indian and Lebanese businessmen who prefer using the U.S. dollar in their transactions. A change in the currency could incite them to leave the country, which would create a vacuum that would be difficult to fill. Already, because of the scarcity of dollars, Indian and Lebanese businessmen have withdrawn from the official banking and financial circuit, and have set up an autonomous system of compensations.

In addition to these monetary difficulties, there are the structural problems of an economy which largely depends on the exportation of raw materials such as iron ore (70 percent of export revenue), rubber, coffee, cocoa, timber, gold, and diamonds; yet world demand for many of these resources, especially

iron ore and rubber is currently weak and prices have reached a very low level. In addition, the production of iron ore has fallen considerably since the army came into power in 1980, falling from 15.2 million tons at the time to 10 million tons in 1984.

Liberia, which is also a victim of external economic factors has to solicit about 40 percent of its national budget from foreign sources, especially from the Americans. Of all the countries in sub-Saharan Africa, Liberia is in fact the one which receives the largest amount of aid per inhabitant from the United States. In 1985, total American aid to the country rose to \$85 million as compared with \$80 million in 1984. In 1984, the IMF granted Liberia a short-term loan of \$43 million, which was used in servicing the foreign debt. In addition the World Bank has asked President Doe's government to reduce the wage bill of his civil servants from \$125 million to \$110 million. Public finances were also dealt a heavy blow in 1982 when the minimum monthly salary of civil servants was increased from \$100 to \$260. Following this the government took rigorous economic measures such as a 25 percent reduction in the salaries of all government employees, compulsory savings by all salaried persons in the country, the creation of a special reconstruction tax, retrenchments in the civil service (which included up to 43,000 persons), and the rescheduling of part of the external debt.

But all these measures have not succeeded in improving the economic situation. In 5 years of military rule the purchasing power of Liberians has fallen from 40 percent, and annual average growth has been negative, (less than 5 percent), according to economists.

If the international financial situation continues to deteriorate, the Monrovia government is likely to face a dilemma: Either it must leave the external debts to accumulate, or it must service them by using the printing press which would force Liberia to leave the U.S. dollar system, and turn to its own currency, which would obviously be weak and inconvertible.

/6662

cso: 3400/938

LIBERIA

BRIEFS

RECONCILIATION, RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS--Monrovia, 25 Jan (AFP) -- The chairman of the Liberia Unification Party (LUP opposition party), William Gabriel Kpoleh, has called on Liberia's political parties to participate in a national conference on reconciliation in which representatives of the Council of Churches, the Muslim Council, Bar Association, Businessmen, and the press will also participate. Mr Kpoleh stated that his party was ready to take part in this conference which will be aimed at finding peaceful solutions to the numerous problems facing Liberia. The LUP chairman also called on the authorities to release the Liberian Action Party (LAP opposition party) leader Jackson Doe (not related to head of state Samuel Kanyon Doe), and Senator Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. Accused of treason for their involvement, according to the government, in the 12 November coup attempt, they should both be tried in February. Mr Kpoleh also asked the authorities to take action against public servants who engage in acts of intimidation and maltreatment of certain persons because of their political affiliations. [Text] [Paris AFP in French 1421 GMT 25 Jan 86 AB] /6662

MALAWI

RSA DEPUTY MINISTER ARRIVES FOR FAMILIARIZATION VISIT

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 19 Dec 85 p 1

Text]

THE SOUTH African deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. R.B. Miller, arrived in Blantyre yesterday for a two-day familiarisation visit of Malaŵi.

Talking to newsmen on arrival at Chileka Airport in Blantyre, Mr. Miller explained that while in the country, he will brief His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda on recent developments taking place in South Africa and explain future plans of his country.

Immediately after his arrival, he called on the Life President at Sanjika Palace in Blantyre.

The deputy Foreign Affairs Minister, on his first visit here, said the visit was a follow-up to that made by his Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha in April 1984.

Mr. Miller also stated that he had come "to look and learn the development that was taking place in Malaŵi particularly in agriculture and tourism which we have heard so much about."

He said that it was the desire of the South African Government to maintain and strengthen her relations with neighbouring countries.

He said: "We are interested in the economical development of this part of the region."

/9317

MALAWI

ROAD CONSTRUCTION RECEIVES TOP PRIORITY, PROJECTS UNDERWAY

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 10 Dec 85 p 10

[Article by Grover Mzumara]

[Text]

ONE OF Malawi's top priorities since Independence was to improve the road network to enable transport the life-blood of the country's economy—farm produce to markets.

On the eve of independence when the country had less than 300 km of bitumen road, it now boasts itself for having 2,600 km long of bitumen road and satisfactory capillary roads which together with the improved earth and gravel roads provide the country with a reasonable distribution network.

CONNECTION

One of the roads being built to a high standard is the Lirangwe-Mwanza-Mozambique Border Road which has earned praise from road experts from the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

The road experts who were holding a four-day Southern Africa Transport Communications Commission (SATCC) on road infrastructure, road traffic and road transport in Blantyre recently visited the road during which they

commended Malawi's effort for constructing high standards roads to link with its neighbouring countries.

The 79 km long Lirangwe-Mwanza-Mozambique Border Road is an important connection between the Southern Region of Malawi and neighbouring countries to the west and south-west.

The road substitutes the existing M2 and follows the existing M2 alignment on 17 km from the border but then turns off in Northern-eastery direction going 52 km through the bush and for the last 10 km follows the existing alignment M6 to Lirangwe.

Financed by the European Development Fund (EDF) to the tune of over K21 million, it is constructed as a two-lane road, carriageway width 6.7m and shoulders 1.50m.

MAJOR BRIDGES

The pavement is a subbased layer of natural occurring material, a basecourse of crushed stone and a double surface dressing. It has been designed upon assumptions of a 20years accumulated traffic forecast.

Six bridges with a total length of 477m are being constructed over the main rivers and streams. The largest bridges are those across Shire, Lisungwe and Wamkurumadzi rivers.

Work being undertaken by the Stirling International Civil Engineering Limited and supervised by COWIconsult, Consulting Engineers and Planners who designed the road started in April 1984 and is expected to be completed in April, 1987. In addition to facilitating the movement of people and goods from neighbouring countries to Malawi, the road has opened up fertile idle lands for agriculture.

As construction is being carried out, many people are settling along the road, opening up gardens and businesses. There are about 950 people including 45 expatriates working on the construction work.

Another road under construction by the Government is the 52 km long Lower-Turn-Off Champhoyo-Mbowe Road.

/9317

EFFICIENCY BRIEFING ON RAIL-LAKE TRANSPORTATION

Blantyre DAILY TIMES in English 9 Dec 85 pp 1, 3

[Text]

ORGANISATIONS and members of the public have been urged to continue using the newly opened Northern corridor in order to facilitate the smooth flow of traffic in the country for both imports and exports.

The call was made by the chairman of the Board of Directors of the Malawi Railways Limited, Mr. D.Z. Tembo at a reception the company hosted last Friday evening at Mount Soche Hotel in Blantyre to meet customers.

Addressing guests, Mr. Tembo thanked them for the continued co-operation and assistance they have directly and indirectly rendered to the Malaŵi Railways Limited.

He said that the Malawi Railways Limited was operating a rail-lake container service for exports and imports through Chilumba to Mbeva and Dares-Salaam on the Tazara system.

"On our part, we shall try to make everything possible to facilitate the smooth flow of traffic for both imports and exports", Mr. Tembo told the guests.

He appealed for continued co-operation for greater use of the route.

He disclosed that the Malawi Railways Limited was already in constant liaison with its colleagues manning the Tazara system and harbour authorities in Tanzania.

On the domestic front, the chairman said that it has made some excellent strides.

He said that over the past two years, domestic traffic carried by railways has increased almost four fold. Mr. Tembo therefore thanked organisations and members of the public for giving the railways continued support. He also thanked local financiers and international donors for their valuable financial and technical assistance to the Malaŵi Railways.

"We need this support so that we are better equipped to execute the tasks before us efficiently", he added.

The chairman paid special tribute to His Excellency the Life President, Ngwazi Dr. H. Kamuzu Banda for his dynamic and far-sighted leadership which has brought progress in the country.

He proposed a toast to wish everyone a Merry Christmas and prosperous New Year.

/9317 CSO: 3400/925

NIGERIA

ISLAMIC CONFERENCE ORGANIZATION

Ukiwe Denies Membership

AB202207 Lagos Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 20 Jan 86

[Excerpt] The chief of General Staff, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, has said that the Federal Government has not applied to join any international religious organization. He said there was no time the issue of religion came before the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, for discussion. (?He said) at a new conference in (Abuda), Imo State, that like other members of the AFRC, he read the controversy about Nigeria joining the Islamic Conference Organization, ICO, on the pages of the newspapers. He declared that the Federal Government had not put its camp with any religion, whether Christian or Muslim. Asked what would happen to the present Constitution after the work of the Political Bureau, Commodore Ukiwe noted that the major work of the bureau was to fashion a new political system. He explained that if the present Constitution did not fit the new system, it will have to be changed.

ICO Spokesman on Membership

AB221254 Paris AFP in French 1135 GMT 22 Jan 86

[Text] Marrakech, 22 Jan (AFP)--The statement of Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, the "second in command" in Nigeria denying Nigeria's membership of the Islamic Conference Organziation [ICO] [words indistinct]. "The least that can be said is that this statement is surprising," said to AFP a spokesman of the organization who, since Tuesday evening, has been taking part in the Marrakech extraordinary meeting of the Al-Quds Committee summoned by King Hassan II following the "violations" of the Jerusalem mosques by Israeli parliamentarians.

The spokesman, who refused to say anything about the real contents of the Nigerian statement, merely recalled that Lagos had officially submitted a membership request to the ICO [words indistinct] in Fes and that this request was unanimously accepted during a public session.

Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe declared to the Nigerian press on Tuesday that the Armed Forces Ruling Council (in power in Lagos) has never discussed the possibility of Nigeria's admission to the ICO as the 46th member.

/6662

cso: 3400/935

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

UKPO MEETS PLO ENVOY--The Federal Military Government has reiterated its commitment to the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organization, PLO, for the creation of a Palestinian state. The minister of information and culture, Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Ukpo, said while receiving the PLO ambassador to Nigeria, Ambassador Samir Baker, that the Federal Government will do all within its powers, with the cooperation of other African countries, to assist in the settlement of the Palestinian question. The minister explained that this will serve as an impetus to the settlement of other world conflicts especially in South Africa. Earlier, Ambassador Samir Baker appealed to the Federal Government not to encourage any diplomatic links with Israel. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 0600 CMT 18 Jan 86 AB] /6662

WORLD BANK SUPPORT--The World Bank says it is willing to support Nigeria's economic recovery program without insisting on an IMF agreement. The bank's vice president for finance, (Mohen Koreshi), said in Washington that what matters was for the program to be capable of restoring the country's credit worthiness. Briefing the board of governors on the financial results of the half year ended on 31 December, Mr (Koreshi) said that World Bank assistance to indebted countries usually depended on the ability of those countries to adopt necessary adjustment programs. [Text] [Lagos Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Jan 86 AB] /6662

cso: 3400/936

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

PORTUGUESE PREMIER DEFENDS COOPERATION WITH FORMER COLONIES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 24 Nov 85 p 1

[Text] Lisbon--Portugal cannot serve as a base for the activity of the little counter-revolutionary groups from the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa.

This declaration was made on Friday by the new Portuguese premier, Cavaco Silva, when he welcomed the president of Sao Tome e Principe, Manuel Pinto da Costa, who is on an official visit to Portugal.

Cavaco Silva pointed out that the Portuguese government is continuing in the "line followed in 1980 by the government of Sa Carneiro which points toward entering into a new phase in relations with the former African colonies."

Pinto da Costa and Cavaco Silva analyzed the possibility of Portuguese firms investing in Sao Tome e Principe. The reinforcement of existing cooperation in the area of culture, particularly the sending of Portuguese teachers to the island, was likewise stressed by the two statesmen who reviewed the situation in southern Africa.

The head of state of Sao Tome, who began his visit to Portugal on Wednesday, received the diplomatic corps late Wednesday morning and was honored with a luncheon which the Portuguese premier gave for him.

On Thursday, Pinto da Costa went to the northern city of Porto where he met with local entrepreneurs, with whom he discussed the possibility of their investing in his country.

The areas considered fundamental for investment in Sao Tome are agriculture, fruit crops and the transformation of products that may offer prospects for export, such as cacao-beans which, according to the Sao Tome minister of information, Manuel Vaz, a member of the presidential party from his country, "must be processed in Sao Tome."

9895/12859 CSO: 3442/82

SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

CENSUS SHOWS 3.7 MILLION PEOPLE--Freetown, 17 Jan (AFP)--According to the results announced on Thursday by the national commission for population, following the general census, Sierra Leone counts 3.7 million inhabitants. According to the chairman of the commission, Mr Peter Tucker, the annual growth rate of the Sierra Leonean population amounts to 2.3 percent, that gives a figure which is inferior to that suggested by the various international organizations for West Africa. This rate is inferior especially to that of Nigeria and Ghana, Mr Tucker said. The more populated area of Sierra Leone, located in the western region of the country and which includes the country's capital, Freetown, has a population of 469,776 inhabitants (243,526 males and 226,250 females). According to the results of the previous census which was conducted in 1974, the ara had only 276,247 inhabitants. The entire population of the country is composed of more females than males. The Sierra Leonean population amounted to 2.8 million in 1974. [Text] [Paris AFP in French 0858 GMT 17 Jan 86 AB] /6662

ZAMBIA

PANA NOTES TANZANIAN-ZAMBIAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TRADE

EA201251 Dakar PANA in English 1314 GMT 19 Jan 86

[Text] Dar es Salaam, 19 Jan (SHIHATA/PANA)--Tanzania and Zambia yesterday agreed to strengthen their existing relations in the trade, economic, and social sectors. In a joint communique issued in Dar es Salaam after a three-day meeting of the Tanzania-Zambia joint permanent commission for cooperation, the two countries have also agreed to improve efficiency of their respective airlines operating between the two countries. Under the terms of the communique, the two countries will now be able to conduct an annual trade protocol, beginning this financial year, aimed at substantially increasing the volume of trade.

In order to increase contact between the people of the two states and further cement the friendship already existing, a protocol on cultural cooperation was signed. According to the communique, the protocol provides for exchanges in the field of information, sports, the arts, film and music to take place during 1986 and 1987.

The three-day commission expressed general satisfaction with the implementation of the programme for 1984/85 adopted during the second session held in Lusaka in 1984. Giving his closing statement, the leader of the Zambian delegation, minister of power, transport and communications, Mr Frederick Chuula, said the third session of the commission has noted the important work done by Tanzania towards the rehabilitation of the Tazan highway within Tanzania to complement the efforts on the Zambian side to keep the highway in good condition.

"No doubt this sort of coordination has considerable economic benefit to the two countries", he said. Mr Chuula also commended the coordination on establishing the power grid interconnection between the two countries saying that it was another revelation of the usefulness of holding meetings.

He said the power grid interconnection would tap the available energy potential and contribute to solutions of the problem of the economic crisis that has befallen the two states. The minister also said the Tanzania/Zambia joint commission session has scored an important achievement since it was given encouragement to private business communities. In that the Zambia Industrial and Commercial Association (ZINCOM) intend to send a delegation

to Tanzania during the first half of this year to promote trade. "This is a very welcome development towards achieving practical results on our decisions", he said.

Meanwhile, the Tanzania minister of state in the presidents office responsible for cabinet affairs and international cooperation, Kighoma Malima, urged the participants of the session to work harder in order to ensure achievement of what it has been decided. "The achievement of this session will be judged by the work that is going to take place in connection with the joint communique signed here today," he said. The fourth session of the Zambia/Tanzania joint permanent commission of cooperation will be held next year in Zambia on a date to be mutually agreed upon.

/6662

ZAMBIA

BRIEFS

MILITARY DELEGATION VISITS GDR--A Zambian military delegation led by defense minister is in Berlin on a friendly visit to the GDR which includes talks with that country's defense officials. The general of the GDR Army, Gen Heinz Kessler, briefed his guests after welcoming them yesterday on the efforts of the soldiers and German workers [words indistinct] to safeguard peace and the country's socialist achievements. The general said they were working in close alliance with the Soviet and other armies of the Warsaw Pact. Both Gen Masheke and Gen Kessler were optimistic that the Zambian delegation's visit will give fresh impetus to the good all-round ties between Zambia and the GDR. [Text] [Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 22 Jan 86 MB] /6662

SOUTH AFRICA

BUTHELEZI WARNS OF NEED TO MOBILIZE AGAINST COSTAU

MB120447 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1247 GMT 11 Jan 86

[SAPA PR Wire Service; issued by the chief minister's office, Ulundi]

[Text] Ulundi, Saturday--Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Inkatha today to be prepared to mobilize workers in response to what he called a "simple declaration of war" on it by the new Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

He raised the possibility of the more than a million-strong black liberation movement formally entering the labor movement by establishing Inkatha branches in every factory and training special organizers.

In his presidential address to the Inkatha central committee, the KwaZulu chief minister suggested the formation of a strong and active sub-committee to decide on the best way of achieving this if it became necessary.

It seemed prudent to anticipate what Inkatha might have to do and to be prepared for appropriate action, he said. It was no use waiting until calamity struck and then finding itself unprepared.

Chief Buthelezi asked the black liberation movement's central committee to consider establishing an Inkatha branch in every factory, opening a labor office and training organizers to deal with workers if and when the need arose.

He said he was aware that this would be a major development needing funding. "We are talking about a very complex situation, and it may well be that a sub-committee of this central committee should set itself the task of chartering a course which we may yet have to follow."

/9738

SOUTH AFRICA

PONDOS, ZULUS' CHRISTMAS WAR STILL SMOULDERING

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 12 Jan 86 p 4

[Text]

THE Christmas war between Pondos and Zulus in the Umbogintwini area is still smouldering.

While KwaZulu and Transkei representatives clash over attempts to restore the peace, 59 people have already died.

The fighting began on Christmas Eve.

Many victims died in a bloody battle on Christmas Day between over 5 000 Zulus and Pondos.

The next day heavily armed Pondo men patrolled Section Five of KwaMakutha, the heart of the battle-zone.

Split into three units, the men – armed with sticks, pangas, assegais and crudely-made firearms – guarded the entrances to the shack settlement.

Others waited on lookout in trees while one man stood on

the highest hill in the settlement scouring the surrounding areas with a pair of powerful binoculars.

One group stopped taxis passing on the road from Isipingo to KwaMakutha.

They accused taxi drivers of abducting their womenfolk and of siding with the Zulus.

When one taxi refused to stop, they fired on it.

But there were no other reported incidents of violence that day. The next morning talks, to bring an end to the fighting began at the instigation of KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Winnington Sabelo.

But the talks broke down when Zulu Chief Bhekizetha Makhanya demanded that all Pondos living in Section Five without his permission leave immediately.

Sabelo said most of the Pondos in the area were refugees from earlier fighting in Malakazi.

Zulus from Malakazi had followed the people to Section Five, where the trouble erupted.

Sabelo said Chief Makhanya maintained the Pondos had come into his territory without his permission.

"They pushed themselves into his area by force and created their own Chief and Indunas in the area.

"Under these circumstances he wanted them to leave immediately," Sabelo said.

There was no direct threat of more trouble if the Pondos did not leave but Sabelo said: "If they don't move, Zulus will return from their holidays to find their people have been killed here – and there will definitely be more bloodshed."

He also said: "We don't want them to come to Umlazi or KwaMakutha. They must go elsewhere."

To date Pondos have steadfastly refused to leave Section Five – they say many of them are employed in the greater Durban industrial complex and have nowhere else to go.

Transkei's Consul in Durban, BB Sekeleni backs their refusal to move.

Sekeleni, who attended the unsuccessful peace talks, believes Chief Makhanya is being unreasonable.

He said there were "deep-rooted socio-economic causes" for the fighting and the arbitrary demand that Pondos leaves the area was not justified.

"We attended the talks because we hoped we could bring about peace. We still hope we can do so.

"But there is no way we can be seen to be in agreement with Chief Makhanya," said Sekeleni.

Since the talks collapsed cops have maintained a strong presence in the area.

Scores of Zulus living c'ose to Section Five have left, taking their belongings.

Many women and children still spend nights at a nearby sanatorium.

Grenade Found After KwaZulu Clan Fights

KWAZULU police have found two grenades during arrests after fighting in the Okhukhu area left six dead at the weekend.

Colonel Sipho Mathe said the discovery of the rusty, sand-filled grenades was "a very worrying development".

Col Mathe said his men had been warned about the possibility of fighting between the Mbatha and Qulunga clans. They had been "tipped off" that Christmas or

New Mear were the likely times. They brought in reinforcements over the holiday season — but nothing happened.

"Then, when we thought the danger was over, fighting suddenly started on Sunday at about noon." he said.

The grenades were discovered in police follow-up operations.

'We were also worried by the high death toll and the closeness of the fighting to Ulundi," said Col Mathe.

He didn't believe there would be more fighting, as most "warriors" had left for their workplaces.

He said he wanted to start "peace talks" between the local chief, indunas and the magistrate as soon as police had completed their investigations.

/9317 CSO: 3400/926

SOUTH AFRICA

DURBAN TOWNSHIP OF CHESTERVILLE TERRORIZED BY VIGILANTES Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 4 [Article by Roger Smith and Billy Paddock] [Text]

IT IS the nights that are most terrifying for the residents of the Durban township of Chesterville.

People have been locking their doors and staying inside since the spate of killings, assaults, petrol bombings and stonings started three months ago.

Their fears stem from experiences like those of Chesterville youth leader Bongani Nxumalo.

Four days after the murder of his friend Ian Zamisa, organiser for the South African Allied Workers Union, people arrived at his home in the middle of the night.

They knocked on his door and said "Open up; we are from the police". He said he looked out and saw members of a vigilante group known as the Ateam and police.

"I kept silent. I did not want to respond because of what has been happening.

"They then started shaking the windows and doors and called out that they knew I was home. After I still did not come out, they fired teargas through the windows."

The men stayed outside for about two hours. When it started to get light, they left.

"We stayed inside even though the teargas was burning because if we went out we would have been killed.

"That's what they do — they chase you out of the house," he said, "and then as you run out they attack you."

A number of residents have had such experiences allegedly involving A-team members and have now lodged a 38-page statement with the Attorney General for investigation.

The residents' claims include allegations that Ian Mtheku was shot, his throat was slit and his arms were hacked off after he was taken away by A-team members, allegedly in the presence of the police...

A-team members were said to have tortured Nhlanhla Hlongwane, cutting him and hitting him with bush knives and a sjambok.

Former Cosas members Zakhele Mambo, Schoolboy Moforeng and Percival Mpanza have all claimed assaults at the hands of A-team members.

A police representative said, "Any person who has reason to believe that there is legal cause for complaint can lodge an affidavit with the police through any of the exisiting channels. The allegations will be investigated."

The targeting of United Democratic Front members, trade unionists and students is seen by them to be a direct result of an inability by the police to quell unrest in the township, which borders the affluent white suburb of Westville.

Unlike Durban's other townships, many of which are in KwaZulu, there is no strong Inkatha presence in Chesterville. One resident said "I believe the Ateam was formed at the instigation of the authorities in order to get at youths who they thought were responsible for the unrest."

Chesterville was quiet during the August riots in Durban, but in September pupils at the senior secondary school went on boycott after the detention of one of their leaders.

During the boycott at least nine trucks, buses and cars were set alight, including the car of the local assistant director of Education and Training, Dan du Toit.

Part of the school was gutted late one night by fire and the violence spilled out of the township when youths stoned cars on the nearby Western Freeway.

The violence escalated with numerous homes being petrolbombed and stoned, with shootouts in the streets, assaults and murders. A hand grenade was thrown into the home of a policeman but did not

· /9317 CSO: 3400/926 explode. At least eight people have died.

One student leader said youths had begun to retaliate to attacks on them in November, when an A-team member's house was petrol-bombed.

"We have approached the stage where we cannot run anymore. We are now staying and fighting back."

At the funeral of Ian Zamisa, Nxumalo called for all the township's residents to stand together against the A-team. "Those people who were peeping out at us from behind their curtains when we marched down the road should be here with us now."

However, many residents are terrified of being seen taking sides. One woman who refused to be named said people in the township were scared to talk to each other about what was going on.

"We just greet each other and say nothing more. When my husband and I get home from work we close the door and don't go out.

"I hope and pray that my son doen't go running around the township getting mixed up in these things."

SOUTH AFRICA

VICILANTES-YOUTH WAR CONTINUES IN CAPE TOWN TOWNSHIPS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 9

[Article by Moira Levy]

[Text]

THE violence which characterised Cape Town's townships for much of last year has broken out anew — only this time, police-community clashes have given way to hostilities between local vigilantes, dubbed "the fathers", and militant youths.

A prominent member of the UDF affiliated United Women's Organisation (UWO) and Western Cape Civic Association(WCCA) has attributed the clash to a bid by the "fathers", allegedly with the backing of community councillors, to drive United Democratic Front activists from the area.

Winifred Nkosi, who was abducted by the "fathers" during the height of the clash and held up for six days in a self-styled "prison", said a vigilante group of "less than 30" men had threatened to "crush the progressive organisations" in the new Crossroads-KTC-Nyanga complex.

The violence between the "fathers" and the *maqabanes* or "comrades" has left a toll of at least four dead and six injured. Hundreds of activists have fled in fear, many seeking refuge in the surrounding bush.

"There are no mothers here any more. Some were beaten in their homes and they ran away. Most are still in hiding," Nkosi said. She alleged that some community councillors, many of whom had resigned because of pressure from residents, were part of the vigilante group, and that their vehicles were being used by the "fathers" for patrolling the townships.

The "fathers" have acted as an unofficial police force since they came to New Crossroads in 1982, Nkosi said. "Before they worked with the youth. Now they work with the community councillors."

The violence erupted on New Year's Day after the killing of a new Crossroads community councillor, a Mr Siquaza, who was hacked to death with pangas and then burnt in his own car.

The "fathers", apparently bent on revenge, allegedly swept through the townships, conducting house-to-house searches for members of the UWO and Cape Youth Congress. Residents claimed they assaulted many members they found, and abducted others.

A leading UDF member, Cedric Ntsikelelo, was taken from his house, stabbed and beaten by "fathers", residents claimed. His home was burnt down, as was the home of UWO executive member Mrs Sybil Dwangu.

Nkosi said she was taken from her home on the night of December 31.

"Six men came in, with three girls (who were also abducted). They said they had some questions to ask me, and took me to an open field where a court was in progress. There were more than 200 men. The fathers asked me about an empty container (used to hold petrol) in connection with the murder of Mr Siguaza.

"I explained that I sell liquor and coldrinks and have many bottles packed in my yard. A youth took it without asking mc."

The women were allegedly held in a shipping container in Crossroads.

During one clash, youths threw hand grenades at a group of about 300 "fathers", injuring several.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, has asked his department to investigate the events.

/9317 CSO: 3400/926

SOUTH AFRICA

QOBOZA, GAZANKULU'S NTSANWISI DISCUSS BLACK EXPECTATIONS

MB151046 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Interview with CITY PRESS Editor Percy Qoboza and Gazankulu's Chief Minister Hudson Ntsanwisi by John Bishop on the "Network" program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] Nineteen eighty-six promises to present this country with some of its greatest political challenges. While the reform process gathered momentum in 1985 with the amendment of the Property Act and Citizenship rights for blacks, the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the suspension of forced removals and the admission of blacks to the President's Council, there are still calls for more farreaching reform. With me in the studio to discuss the political expectations and priorities for black South Africans are Percy Qoboza, the editor of CITY PRESS, and the chief minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Gentlemen welcome. Percy, a first question to you. We have mentioned black political priorities. Now does that phrase mean anything to you?

[Qoboza] It actually offends me because you are beginning to presume that there are different aspirations for different people on the basis of color. What you should be saying to me is the aspirations of human beings. I may be black, you may be white but at the end, we have got aspirations that both of us want for ourselves, for our families, for our children, and for our country. And at the end, this is the basic nitty gritty of the problem in South Africa, that we are obsessed with race instead of human beings who have got human dignity.

[Bishop] Prof Ntsanwisi, your comments on this.

[Ntsanwisi] In the South African situation as I see it we are talking about black political priorities. You want to signify the fact that you realize that like any other human being the black man has aspirations, and in the South African context one would like to see the black man accepted and recognized as a citizen of South Africa.

[Bishop] So are you both agreeing now that the phase black priorities or white priorities in terms of politics must be dropped, that we are politics for everybody.

[Qoboza] Well, I do—I must make the point that while I do agree that you should drop the black—white tag away from it, one has to take into consideration that my people had gone through a history of deprevation, of having programs which are completely white—orientated in terms of their interest. In other words, you have a political situation where the white man says: Listen, my man, we are going to solve this country on the basis of this type of thing. We are going to have reform based on this. And you know, with all respect to my friend Prof Ntsanwisi, he is operating within that system which was designed by white people, that says you are going to get a political dispensation that comes about because we believe that he is a Shangaan, I am a Zulu, and so on, while that system does not take into account that this is a Frenchman, this is an Afrikaner, this is an Englishman and so on. The system encompasses all people because they are white and then puts into little compartments people because they are black.

[Bishop] Nevertheless, there have been reforms. We mentioned them in the introduction. Are those reforms real reforms in your estimation, Prof Ntsanwisi?

[Ntsanwisi] As far as those reforms are concerned, one would like to say that it is not yet a solid package of reforms. What we would like to see is a solid package of reforms, of that these reforms should be implemented. What has taken place just—you talk about these reforms, but they have not yet been enshrined in legislature and what we are interested in is to see these reform initiatives enshrined in legislature and then we shall know and the international community will also know that these are real reforms. We speak about reforms without implementing them. That is the crux of the South African problem as I see it.

[Bishop] Now you had a bit of challenge there from Percy Qoboza. He mentioned the fact that you are chief minister of Gazankulu and therefore you are working inside the system. How do you [words indistinct]? How do you react to that?

[Ntsanwisi] I haven't come here to quarrel with Percy this evening, but what I would like to say is this that we all cannot run away from the fact that we live in a south African situation and one of the things that we have got to do is to see that we meet the challenges which face us. As a chief minister, I do not apologize to anyone because I have not been a champion of apartheid or separate development. I am there to articulate this aspiration of our people and to show that out of this mess which we have in South Africa we can build something solid for our people.

[Qoboza] I have a problem about that. While you articulate, what you call articulating, from that particular platform, what you really are doing is giving moral justification to an immoral policy. Now, a lot of people say to me that listen we have got reforms as you said, John, earlier in that there were some reforms that have taken place—you can now get married to a white woman, you can be in love with a white woman—but really this is not touching the nitty gritty of the entire aspects of our, you know... [changes thought] I didn't want to get to a white woman, this is not my priority.

[Bishop] What is the nitty gritty then?

[Qoboza] The nitty gritty is my people getting involved in the whole decision-making process.

[Bishop] At the highest level?

[Qoboza] At the very highest level.

[Bishop] How should this be? Are you talking about one man, one vote, a unitary state?

[Qoboza] I do not think at this particular stage anybody of any particular intelligence can dodge the issue. We are talking about a situation where one man, one vote means self-determination of the people.

[Bishop] Right.

[Qoboza] Now I understand the fears of the white community and I appreciate them very much but they must understand in the same breath my anger, my frustrations, and therefore at the end if you say to me listen, Percy my boy, you are not yet ready for one man, one vote and I say to you on what basis. You say it is a sophisticated Western concept in which you must grow up in you must [word indistinct]. That insults me.

[Bishop] By supposing white people--let's say they have passed through that that they don't say anymore--supposing white people are saying look, times have changed. What we are really worried about is our position, politically, physically, and how would you answer them this evening?

[Qoboza] But this is what I am worried about too. My own position....

[Bishop, interrupting] But what I am saying is how would you answer that?

[Qoboza] I would say to them: Listen, you have got to put your act together. You have got to get off your highfalutin ivory tower....

[Bishop, interrupting] But I suggest....

[Qoboza, interrupting] And know that I am a human being, you are a human being. I have got intelligence, you've got intelligence, and God gave us these types of attributes, so why should you doubt me simply because of the color of my skin?

[Bishop] Yes, but I think you have missed the point Percy. What I said was let us make a presumption that people in high places and white people have accepted that the times have changed. How would you allay their fears about their political and actual future tomorrow in a one man, one vote situation?

[Qoboza] I have said and I repeat it that I, as a black man knowing the numerical superiority of my people, have got to allay the fears of white people who suffer from an inferiority complex and also a complex of fear, and I have said to them: Listen, we can together devise a system to make sure that your security as human beings is assured as well as taking care of the aspirations of my people.

[Bishop] You said this in the columns of your newspaper.

[Qoboza] I have consistently said that in public.

[Bishop] Professor, you have some points to make.

[Ntsanwisi] Yes, what I wanted to say is this that it seems that, with due respect to my friend Percy, he is in a state of confusion because instead of addressing himself to the problem we have come here for today, he is addressing himself to me. He is speaking here on a white platform and he uses this platform which he doesn't want me to use, and I think that is a state of confusion.

[Bishop] You'll have [words indistinct] to use it?

[Ntsanwisi] What I wanted to say is this finally on this point is that we have black aspirations and what we would like to see is that these aspirations or these reform initiatives which have been made be translated or enshrined in legislature, and we shall be making a step forward because if we keep on challenging each other without facing the real challenges and solving them we shall get nowhere, and I think that this is the South African problem where people speak around the problem and leave the problem unchallenged....

[Bishop, interrupting] Can we....

[Qoboza, interrutping] But the so-called reforms have been, you know with all due respect to the professor, enshrined in legislation. The Immorality Act has been abolished from the statute books, the Mixed Marriages Act has been abolished from the statute books, but is that what... [changes thought] less people are talking about....

[Bishop, interrupting] Professor, I must jump in here because time is pressing us. We have been promised more comment and perhaps more reforms in this year. Isn't that so. You must have carried that in the column of your newspaper?

[Qoboza] I have done that. I have lived through my 43 years on promises and all those promises have been broken at every available corner. Now I am not going to live with promises.

[Bishop] Prof Ntsanwisi, you have more optimism I think, don't you, coming out of this discussion?

[Ntsanwisi] Yes, I think that reforms are taking place. What worries me is that as far as the Immorality Act is concerned, we have not been interested in marrying a white women so that as far as I am concerned. That is over. I am looking....

[Qoboza, interrutping] What about the

[Bishop, interrupting] Just let him finish, Percy.

[Ntsanwisi] I am looking at the things which we articulate is the dismantling of apartheid as it is and as far as that is concerned we are at one, but I

want to face problems as they come and solve them because if [we] keep on talking around the periphery of the problem and leaving it unsolved, we shall never solve our problems here in South Africa....

[Qoboza, interrupting] Yet the problem is that....

[Ntsanwisi, interrupting] And that is your leadership....

[Qoboza, interrupting] You are going through a whole process here you think you have got 100 years. You don't have, time is the enemy of this country. You have no time to sit down and indulge in all types of Rip Van Winkle dreams in which a revolution is taking place right under your ears....

[Ntsanwisi, interrupting] I agree with you especially if you want to get to the nitty gritty of things and settle them. But what you are doing is forgetting that time is not with you and you are moving around the problem without challenging it. That is my problem....

[Bishop, interrupting] Well, time is our problem at the moment. Thank you very much for the discussion. Thank you very much Prof Ntsanwisi and Percy Qoboza.

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SOUTH AFRICA

WINNIE MANDELA TALKS ON VARIOUS ISSUES IN SPIEGEL INTERVIEW

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 6 Jan 86 pp 102-105

[Interview with Winnie Mandela conducted by SPIEGEL editor Paul M. Schumacher, 30 Dec 85 during flight from Johannesburg to Capetown: "They Would Like to Destroy Me Physically: Winnie Mandela on the Struggle of Blacks Against White Rule in South Africa"]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mrs Mandela, how many times have you been arrested in your life?

Winnie Mandela: I have stopped counting. Since I married Nelson Mandela on 14 June 1958, I have at any rate been detained over and over again.

SPIEGEL: You really cannot say how many times?

Mandela: I was locked up only 3 months after my wedding. Since then, not a single year has gone by in which I have not been in prison. But I do not know the exact number.

SPIEGEL: How long have you been banned?

Mandela: I was banned in 1962, and since then there have been only a few days between the respective banning orders from Pretoria during which I was not subject to any restrictions.

SPIEGEL: In 1977, you had to leave Soweto and go into exile in the farming town of Brandfort in the Orange Free State. Had you never been there before?

Mandela: I had never heard of that place.

SPIEGEL: The authorities had your household goods transported from Soweto to Brandfort on an open truck...

Mandela: ...the largest part of it broke along the way...

SPIEGEL: ...but at least you were assigned to a small house in which you lived from then on.

Mandela: I called it a cell in which I had to live as punishment. There was no possibility of fighting it in the courts. That is how it is to this day with bannings in South Africa.

SPIEGEL: Why were you finally allowed to leave your place of banning?

Mandela: I was not allowed to leave. I left because they had bombed my forced housing. Moreover, they destroyed a small clinic next to the house that had been built for the local population.

SPIEGEL: Who was behind this destruction? And why?

Mandela: It is extremely difficult for me to understand what is going on inside racist minds and in the heads of our oppressors.

SPIEGEL: The most recent banning order by the police forbids you entry into the Johannesburg and Roodepoort municipal districts, which means that you cannot go to Soweto, to your own house. Why are they doing this?

Mandela: I can only imagine that the Mandela family is supposed to be harrassed even more. This ban is more drastic than any before it.

SPIEGEL: In the future, you can at least move about throughout all of South Africa, with the exception of those two areas. But you still cannot engage in educational or public activities.

Mandela: There is nothing more awful than to separate parents from their children, to refuse people their own house, and to do so in the name of the law. My house and my family's house is in Soweto. I have just this one home. They expelled me from there in 1977 and took me to Brandfort. Then they apparently changed their minds, bombed my forced housing and made me homeless.

SPIEGEL: The fact that you were allowed to leave Brandfort, that the new banning order a few days before Christmas did give you somewhat more room, was interpreted in police circles as a sort of pre-Christmas leniency by the minister...

Mandela: Never, we are a long way from that. The government would love to inflict something worse on me, if they only could.

SPIEGEL: Your fame protects you? Or what do you mean?

Mandela: The bombing in Brandfort was naturally not a coincidence, nor was it the work of lunatic outsiders. It was instead a message intended to make it clear to me that if they could, they would kill me. They would like to destroy me physically, just like they have done with others.

SPIEGEL: Despite this you are not keeping the conditions of the ban. There are already more legal proceedings pending against you.

Mandela: I insist on being able to live in my own house again.

SPIEGEL: You will be imprisoned again and again if you try to.

Mandela: I do not expect any change in the hearts of those people who have persecuted us our entire life. I expect that I will continue to be imprisoned. It would not surprise me at all if they were waiting for me at the Johannesburg airport. [Winnie Mandela was in fact arrested after landing at Johannesburg on 30 December.]

SPIEGEL: Somewhere in the country, the police and the army are involved every day in bloody fighting with revolutionaries, mostly young people whose solution is: freedom today, education tomorrow. Will the country soon be in flames?

Mandela: The situation is extremely disturbing. We are deeply concerned about conditions in our country. The regime is not making the slightest attempt to satisfy the demands of the oppressed people.

SPIEGEL: What, in your opinion, should the government do?

Mandela: The crisis, including the one in education, is a direct result of the racist laws. The young people have thus far endured the slavery that has been demanded of the oppressed people of this country for centuries. Now, however, they have decided: enough is enough. They will force the government to change its policy. Under these circumstances, I find the language of the young people to be very moderate.

SPIEGEL: But the young people are paying a high price, endangering their future and putting their lives on the line.

Mandela: I emphasize: It is unfortunate that the country is in flames. As parents, we would rather see our children back in school. We know that education means power, which we need for our struggle against the ruling Boer clique. The government has turned our schools into military institutions. And yet, schools in any Christian, any civilized society should be there for the children. In South Africa, however, the government has total control over education. This is how they have been able to provide us with the inferior education against which our youth is fighting.

SPIEGEL: How long do you that this will go on?

Mandela: As long as soldiers with guns at their hips have the audacity to stand in front of Black children and require them to learn in the name of the very racist regime that is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of children.

SPIEGEL: The current phase of unrest began 16 months ago when Black inhabitants of the so-called Vaal Triangle south of Johannesburg rebelled against a rent increase. Is there no solution for the conflict?

Mandela: Peace is only conceivable when the abominable policy of apartheid stops. Otherwise, the struggle will continue as long as the government of the National Party is in power and the Botha regime does not comply with the legitimate demands of the people.

SPIEGEL: Has the final struggle for liberation thus begun?

Mandela: The liberation struggle is a continual process. Because of this, there is no particular starting point. White South Africa has never understood this. The Whites want to see every expression of popular rage as a singular case, as a communist inspired revolt, while in fact the people are lending expression to their anger against apartheid.

SPEIGEL: Recently, the underground fighters of the ANC Black liberation movement have repeatedly attacked civilian targets in South Africa. In the north of the country, civilians were killed by land mines for the first time. Bombs have also exploded in the the vicinity of Durban; in one of the attacks in a crowded shopping center in Amanzimtoti, many children were among the vicitms. Is this a new strategy of the ANC?

Mandela: Not at all. It was especially painful for the ANC that-necessitated by the continuing struggle--innocent people were put in danger. That is a tragic situation that cannot be avoided by any liberation movement.

SPIEGEL: Will these killings not create panic in South Africa?

Mandela: We respect human life. We have feelings like all other human beings. We very much regret that innocent people end up in the crossfire, but that happens in most struggles. It is, as I said, a tragic situation about which we are very concerned. I would like to express my regret to all the people involved.

SPIEGEL: The ANC attacks are also supposed to be part of a power struggle within the movement. It is said that angry, determined young members are dissatisfied with the less combattive old men of the ANC, such as Oliver Tambo and your husband, Nelson Mandela. What do you think of this?

Mandela: I know nothing about such a conflict. The strategy that has been followed is supported by the ANC as a whole.

SPIEGEL: Since the children's uprising in Soweto in 1976, a new generation has entered the ANC and strengthened the militant wing "Umkonto we Sizwe" (Spear of the Nation) in particular. Has this not in fact led to a generational conflict in the ANC?

Mandela: If there were such a struggle, if the young people of 1976 or those of today thought differently than their leaders, they would certainly not yell slogans of Mandela and Tambo again and again. These boys and girls were not even born when Mandela went to prison and other leaders were forced into exile.

SPIEGEL: Your husband Nelson Mandela has been in jail for over 20 years and is nevertheless still head of the ANC. How can a man who has been in prison for so long, and who at least officially has been cut off from all political information remain familiar with the situation?

Mandela: We must wait for his release, then he can tell us. During visits, we are not allowed to talk about the political situation, only about family affairs.

SPIEGEL: Would Nelson Mandela still be willing to sit at the negotiating table with the White leaders of South Africa, with the Bothas, if he were released?

Mandela: The time has now come for the people of South Africa to reach this decision. The oppressed people, for whom he went to prison, should express their opinions on this. In so doing, one must not forget that one of the reasons that my husband is in prison is the fact that he fought for a round-table conference. Pretoria responded by condemning people like him to life imprisonment.

SPIEGEL: Do you then see indications in government circles of a willingness to talk?

Mandela: Even with a microscope, I find it difficult to find such indications, despite everything that I continually read about it. On the contrary: We perceive considerably intensified resistance to the demands of the people.

SPIEGEL: Apartheid has at any rate been softened somewhat over the past few years.

Mandela: The government has been pursuing a trend that is much worse than in earlier years. These days, we are experiencing considerably more violence. The South African army has occupied our ghettos, and our children are intimidated not only in the streets, but even in the schools.

SPIEGEL: Has the government recently made any suggestions to you concerning a release of your husband?

Mandela: I would certainly be the first to know about such an offer. I know nothing of one.

SPIEGEL: Then where are the ever-recurring rumors about the allegedly imminent release of your husband coming from?

Mandela: That is part of the psychological warfare by the government against me, my family and against our cause per se. They want to make us nervous.

SPIEGEL: Nelson Mandela, it is said, is the only prisoner in for life who can free himself--namely, if he were to accept Botha's demand that he renounce violence.

Mandela: That something like this can be claimed shows how deranged South African society is. It is indeed sick when policemen want to suddenly brand their prisoners as being their own wardens. How can a prisoner dictate the conditions for his own release or allow conditions to be imposed on him after he has already served his sentence?

SPIEGEL: When do you think that your husband will be released?

Mandela: The liberation forces will open his cell.

SPIEGEL: When?

Mandela: Not even a historian--if he had any sense--would try to predict the exact date of a historical event.

SPIEGEL: How often are you allowed to visit your husband?

Mandela: I can see him once a month, and this has been for 25 years. Scmetimes I am granted special visits, like now before Christmas. But of course my visiting rights lapse when I am in prison myself.

SPIEGEL: Is it true that he has been kept in solitary confinement since his stay in the hospital in November?

Mandela: Not in a strict sense, since he was simply not returned to the cell that he had earlier shared with his colleagues.

SPIEGEL: Was that explained to you?

Mandela: It was said that it happened because of administrative reasons only known to Pretoria. Since his transfer from the Robben Island Prison to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town 3 years ago, he has shared a cell with others. Now he is alone.

SPIEGEL: How does the Mandela family deal with the constant conflict with the authority of the state? How, for example, were you able to raise your daughter?

Mandela: One of the most painful facts of my life is that I was never able to be a mother to my children. It is a crime of the South African government that it completely tore apart our family life. However, things are not much better for most families in this country.

SPIEGEL: In what way?

Mandela: Apartheid has separated men from their wives, ever since the Boers assumed power in 1948. They do not view us as people, but rather order us from one part of the country to another. The dismemberment of our country, the division of people into separate areas, all this gives us a special pain that we will never forget.

SPIEGEL: Do you actually see yourself only as a fill-in who is continuing the affairs of her husband as long as he is in prison, or afterwards will you still be the heroine of freedom that you have now become?

Mandela: This question will be answered some day by my people. I never chose my current position. The population of this country has passed to me the

honor of leading them to freedom. I could never be an imitation of my husband for the very reason that I have never lived with him.

SPIEGEL: But he has inspired you?

Mandela: I have even developed politically without him. I have not only never had him as a husband; I never had him as a political figure at my side.

SPIEGEL: Do you see a political role for yourself in a free South Africa? As a recognized social worker, you would be an ideal minister of health or social affairs.

Mandela (laughs): It has never crossed my mind to wrangle for a particular position. I am just one of numerous liberation fighters. We are struggling for a democratic South Africa, and we will achieve this. People like me hope to live up to the honor that the oppressed people have bestowed upon us. If my role were to end on the day of liberation, I would accept that.

SPIEGEL: But that is when the country could really use you.

Mandela: Of course it would be one of my greatest dreams to contribute to solving the problems of my country. Indeed, then comes the most difficult part of our history: the transitional period. That will be more terrible and more difficult than anything that other countries have experienced.

SPIEGEL: More difficult than in, say, Zimbabwe, where a large part of the Whites left the country within a short period of time?

Mandela: Oh yes, I think that it will be much more difficult for us.

SPIEGEL: Why?

Mandela: The government of South Africa has trained the Whites to be much, much more stubborn than any other colonial power in Africa. And what's worse is that the racist regime has oppressed the popular majority of this country to such a brutal extent that these people will find it difficult to make it through the transitional period. It will be a very painful process.

SPIEGEL: Mrs Mandela, we thank you for this interview.

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CSO: 3420/19

SOUTH AFRICA

BUTHELEZI DISCUSSES BLACK DIFFERENCES ON TV

MB221542 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 21 Jan 86

[Text] It is reported from London that Chief Buthelezi of KwaZulu has expressed other views to a group of British parliamentarians after they had listened to ANC leader Oliver Tambo. The chief minister of KwaZulu had, as Tambo had done before him, given evidence before a select parliamentary committee which is busy compiling a report on South Africa for the British Parliament. The chairman of the committee, Sir Anthony (Kershaw), says Chief Buthelezi's evidence has caused the committee to change its standpoint.

[Begin video] [Correspondent Clarence Keyter] It is here in the lower house where Chief Buthelezi has pleaded for peaceful negotiation [of] politics in South Africa. His evidence was not without criticism, but in the hours he spent before the committee, the chief minister had to answer questions and crossquestions on every aspect of the current South African political situation. He continually tried to inform the committee that the majority of blacks are against violence, that sanctions will not work, and that Britain and the members of the commonwealth have a role to play in the development [of] politics of South Africa.

[Buthelezi, in English] My objective when I entered the committee room is that I had to project a view which is not often heard abroad so that my aim was to share with the committee the views of the ordinary black South African, I mean the ordinary people in the street who are very often, I mean their views, are never heard in these parts as in Europe or in America. So my aim, therefore, was to share with members of the committee the views of a leader like myself who has got a constituency, who speaks not just to express his own opinion but who speaks to express the feelings of his constituency.

[Keyter, in English] Do you think there is a change taking place in the minds of people, politicians, and other people both in the UK and Europe as to come to more realism as far as the South African political situation is concerned?

[Buthelezi, in English] I find, you know, many people that I talk to, especially decisionmakers, people in Parliament and businessmen, and people like that, that in fact the problem of South Africa has been heightened particularly because of the pressure that has been brought to bear on South Africa which I think is a good thing in itself, and I find that in discussions that I have

with members of parliament, for instance, both in Europe and also in this country, I find that they... [changes thought] a very great concern about how the situation can be resolved other than the kind of pressures which are described as damaging to the black South Africans. So I find that there are people who are very keen to do something, and I find them in the categories that I have mentioned of people in parliament, and in the business and other responsible professional people, people who want to know what can be done which is not destructive.

[Keyter] Chief Buthelezi was the fifth individual who gave evidence before the committee. The first was Oliver Tambo, who was followed by members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, as well as the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. The nine-man committee under the chairmanship of Sir Anthony (Kershaw) devoted 1 hour more to Chief Buthelezi than planned.

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BRIEFS

GRENADES IN KWAZULU FACTION WAR--KwaZulu police confiscated two hand grenades in arrests after faction fighting which left at least six dead at the weekend. Deputy Commissioner of Police for KwaZulu, Colonel Sipho Mathe, said the discovery of the grenades--rusty and full of sand--in the pockets of two men during follow-up operations after the fight was "a very worrying development." Fighting between the Mbatha and Qulunga clans in the remote Okhukhu area of Mahlabatani district in northern KwaZulu broke out on Sunday morning and lasted about an hour. Mathe, who is heading investigations into the fighting, said tension had been simmering between the groups since both were moved from Msinga and resettled in Okhukhu. He believed the fighting was over "land issues." Police had been warned of a possible outbreak of fighting scheduled for Christmas or New Year's Day, but after reinforcements were brought in, nothing happened. "Then, when we no longer expected any trouble, they began to fight," he said. The proximity of the fighting to Ulundi and the high death toll were also causes for alarm. The bodies all had bullet or knife wounds and none of the dead found so far had been killed by grenades. Most of the "warriors" had fled into the hills or left for their workplaces in Johannesburg or other centres, Mathe said, but 100 police were tracking down those still in the area; a helicopter was used to search the mountains near Okhuku. By mid-week 20 people from the Mbatha clan had been arrested. Mathe said he hoped to initiate "peace talks" involving the local indunas, the chief and the magistrate as soon as police had completed their investigations. [Text] [Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 4] /9317

BUTHELEZI COMMENTS ON ANC--The president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the ANC will never succeed in overthrowing the government violently. Chief Buthelezi was speaking to the British House of Commons' Foreign Affairs Committee. Chief Buthelezi said the vehemence with which the ANC attacked Inkatha on the diplomatic front could be traced to a deeprooted fear that Inkatha's politics of negotiation would eventually triumph over violence. In reply to a question on how he reconciled his calls for the release of Nelson Mandela with his opposition to violence, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC policy of violence had no chance of success, and therefore Mandela was also powerless. [Text] [MB210758 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 21 Jan 86 MB] /12232

VLOK MEETS TOWN COUNCILS—The deputy minister of law and order and defense, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has held talks with the Kurgersdorp Town Council, the town council of the residential area of Kagiso, and the security forces concerning the consumer and bus boycotts and the security situation in the area. Speaking after the talks, Mr Vlok said the problems being experienced in the area were explained to him in an open-hearted way by the white and black town councils. He said law and order had to be restored to the areas to protect residents. All the people in South Africa had to be prepared to work hard in an effort to restore peace and prosperity in strife—torn residential areas. He said intimidation is a criminal offense which was viewed in a very serious light. Mr Vlok reiterated that the government intended lifting the state of emergency as soon as possible. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 23 Jan 86 MB] /12232

COMMENTARY SAYS NEW LESOTHO GOVERNMENT MUST EXPEL ANC

MB210831 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 21 Jan 86

[Station commentary: "The Coup in Lesotho"]

[Text] If there is one thing which should be made clear about South Africa's attitude towards the coup in Lesotho, then it is this: The main—if not the only—interest South Africa has in a neighboring government is that it should not permit its territory to be used as a springboard for terrorist attacks against this country.

Put in a nutshell, South Africa expects a neighboring government should not harbor within its borders members of the ANC terrorist organization, nor should it permit the ANC to operate against the republic.

This is the application of a simple principle of good neighborliness, similar to requesting your neighbor to prevent himself from crossing the fence to bite you in your own backyard. Apart from the application of that principle, which South Africa demands of her neighbors, whatever else they do, whatever domestic policies they adopt or implement is up to them. For example, although South Africa strongly opposes Marxist-socialist policies, she was quite willing to enter into the Nkomati Accord with the Marxist-socialist government of Mozambique.

In this respect, South Africa is far more tolerant than her neighbors, who are forever attempting to interfere in this country's domestic policies. At the same time, South Africa would like to see the policy of good neighborliness extend to economic relations between the states of the southern African region. It is a fact of life, recognized by the entire international community, that southern Africa is an economic entity, and that economic interdependence is beneficial to all the states of the region.

Lesotho, in particular, should realize this. That country is virtually totally dependent on South Africa, with about half its labor force working in this country, and its entire economic infrastructure tied to that of South Africa.

Now, there is a new government in Lesotho. How it governs is its own business. But when it comes to ANC attacks on South Africa, these must stop immediately, otherwise the new government will be as damaging to the people of Lesotho as that of Chief Jonathan.

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COMMENTARY CALLS NEW LESOTHO GOVERNMENT 'REALISTIC'

MB220722 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 22 Jan 86

[Station commentary: "Lesotho"]

[Text] Widespread jubilation in Lesotho speaks clearly of the fact that the people of the tiny kingdom expect an improvement in their quality of life, and all things considered the future of the country can only be brighter.

The celebrations in the streets of Maseru reflected the people's happiness at being redeemed as much from communism as from former Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's rule. Among the slogans joyously shouted were: Free at last, free from Leabua's communist rule. Now we will get food, not just weapons. Weapons do not help us.

The reaction to the coup from the Basotho nation serves as a graphic illustration of the fact that man's basic needs, food, shelter, clothing, and work are of prime importance to ordinary people.

Lesotho now stands on the threshhold of a new era, and the whole of southern Africa, and in fact the whole world, waits to see in which direction it will move.

The history of postindependence Africa has shown that military governments often perpetuate themselves resulting in more coups and countercoups, none of which has contributed to stability. However, in cases where they have been followed reasonably quickly by a new civilian government, military coups have led towards greater stability.

Lesotho is more conservative and more realistic about the real issues facing the country, and indeed the entire southern African region. There is every indication that it recognizes the interdependence of the states of the subcontinent and therefore the need for cooperation and peaceful coexistence between the countries of the region. It is this alone which will lead to peace and a better way of life for all the people of southern Africa.

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COMMENTARY SEES SIGNS OF NEW LESOTHO GOVERNMENT PRAGMATISM

MB220728 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 22 Jan 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] It is really too early to judge, but there are welcome signs that Lesotho's new government of Major-General Lekhanya will be following a more pragmatic policy towards South Africa than did its predecessor. If so, it could launch a new era of mutually beneficial cooperation and end the confrontation created by the Jonathan government's barely disguised support for the ANC.

It is known that General Lekhanya clashed sharply with Chief Jonathan over the ANC and deteriorating relations with South Africa, which precipitated the stringent security measures introduced at the border posts. There were also strong indications that the Basutho people in general were unhappy about the ANC presence in their country—not only because of the economically damaging security measures South Africa was obliged to adopt but because of the friction it caused internally. That the news of Jonathan's fall in a bloodless coup was cheered by crowds in Maseru was therefore not surprising. There was general approval for the new military council that will govern the country under King Moshoeshoe as head of state.

Although it will obviously need time to restore political stability in the country it has already given evidence of the high priority it places on relations with South Africa. The negotiations that were held last week on the border dispute and related security matters have been resumed immediately. On the South African side, the firm condition for normal border traffic and cooperation with a neighbouring state is that no shelter or support may be given to ANC members who use its territory as a launching pad for terrorism. Chief Jonathan, increasingly dependent on communist aid and the diplomatic leverage provided by the OAU, was not prepared to accept the condition. In the one-sided policy he followed good neighbourliness was expected to come only from South Africa while he himself refused even to acknowledge, in spite of the evidence presented to him, that the ANC was making use of his country.

Chief Jonathan's ambivalence made any worthwhile cooperation between the two countries virtually impossible. The ambitious Oxbow-Highlands water scheme remained stalled for almost 15 years, although even the World Bank was

enthusiastic about its revenue, irrigation and electricity generating potential for Lesotho. Such joint projects can only be undertaken where there is trust between the participating states, and trust depends on a record of commitment to peaceful co-existence. Lesotho's new leaders will have to demonstrate such a commitment. Without it the interdependent nations of this region will not succeed in maintaining the political stability that is a precondition for economic growth. And an essential start, for Lesotho, will be to get rid of the militant ANC presence within its borders.

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cso: 3400/944

COMMENTARY QUESTIONS TUTU'S COMMITMENT TO NONVIOLENCE

MB231219 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Station commentary: "Tutu on Violence"]

[Text] South Africans are evidently not the only ones who wonder about Bishop Desmond Tutu's commitment to non-violence. For Vice-President George Bush to have spoken out as he did this week required a degree of political courage, given the media hype which has turned the bishop into an almost venerated figure in some sections of the American population.

Speaking in a television news interview Mr Bush said Bishop Tutu's words of praise for the ANC made him wonder whether he was really committed to supporting non-violence. Further, the vice-president was quoted as saying: "I abhor violence--violence by black against black, black against white and white against black. I wonder whether Bishop Tutu agrees with me on that." Certainly, for a man who proclaims, often and loudly, his desire to promote peaceful solutions for South Africa, the bishop seems to have an obsessive need to paint scenarios of large-scale violence.

For a Christian leader he has a paradoxical admiration for the ANC and Nelson Mandela, a self-confessed communist and revolutionary whom he declares to be his leader.

For the head of the church ministering to all equally he is curiously blind to both the sincere reformist intentions of the white establishment, and to the mass intimidation and brutality of radicals in the black community. It is true that the bishop once threatened to leave the country if there were any more "necklace" killings—that pathological form of murder consisting in burning a victim to death by setting alight a tyre placed around his neck. But he withdrew the threat when the murders continued unabated.

By Monday, being honoured with the Martin Luther King Peace Prize, he had decided that, "our people are peaceful to a fault... we keep saying we will use peaceful means." There is no mention of the fact that nearly a third of the past year's death in unrest were caused by cold-blooded killings of blacks by fellow-blacks. Whether or not Bishop Tutu thinks excessive peacefulness among his people is a fault, he repeated earlier in his present celebrity tour of the United States that he remained opposed to violence... at least "for the present"

as he put it in a television interview. Nevertheless, in accordance with his thesis that there is no question of genuine reform taking place in South Africa, he believes that "we are probably getting close to that point where we will have a bloodbath." He even had some ideas about the form that intensified violence might take.

Domestic servants might poison their employers. There could be attacks on white school buses, "the softest of soft targets" and the easiest way of sowing panic in the white community." [quotation marks as received] Not that Bishop Tutu would condone such actions. He is only drawing attention to possibilities. On the other hand he would agree, or so he told an interviewer in Washington, that "there comes a time when it is justifiable to overthrow an unjust system by violence." Where in fact does Bishop Tutu stand on violence in South Africa today? So contradictory are the inferences to be drawn from his statements that the sceptical perplexity of Mr Bush, and many others, is not surprising. In this period, when South Africa is going through the most fundamental reforms in its history, the bishop owes it to millions of whites and blacks in the country to give an unequivocal answer to the question.

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VARIOUS PERSONALITIES DISCUSS CONSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS ON TV

MB260557 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 22 Jan 86

[Discussion between Solly Rammala, Director of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, Professor Nic Wiehahn of the School of Business at the University of South Africa, and Danie du Toit, Professor in ethics at Stellenbosch University, moderated by Freek Robinson, on the Netwerk [network] program--live, with video insert narrated by Ruda Landman]

[Text] [Robinson] The political process, according to all indications, is going to gain further momentum in the country to involve all citizens at the highest level of decisionmaking. To make it practical, a new constitution will have to be drawn up. This evening we begin a new series of programs on Netwerk and Network in which a number of South Africans will give their ideas on possible constitutional solutions. Any constitution will have to be based on values which are important and acceptable to all. That is the theme of this evening's discussion. But first, let us examine a few of these basic principles.

[Begin Landman video] The new South Africa, on the move. These are the expectations being raised in the country over the ferment of further, far-reaching constitutional reforms. After the establishment last year of the tricameral parliament which accommodated coloreds and Indians alongside whites, the feeling is being expressed more and more often that the real challenge now is to involve blacks in the country's central political system. With apologies to a statesman, it can be said that the tricameral system should not be seen as the end of constitutional adaptation, nor even as the beginning of the end, but simply as the end of the beginning. The government's commitment to far-reaching reform was articulated recently by the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, to the outside world as follows: The South African has broken completely with the past. A new era has broken for South Africa. Old policy directions have been abandoned, and new horizons have been created for powersharing by blacks, coloreds, Indians, and whites. In the meantime, considerable division and even polarization still exists between and within the various communities over the desired changes. But observers believe that at least there is an area of middle ground or consensus, even across color lines, on the broad guidelines for a new South Africa. This encompasses, for example, justice for all citizens within the borders of the country. That means all forms of color discrimination, or apartheid, must go, and equal opportunities

and treatment for all has to replace possible advantages. Politically, this involves full political participation by all groups, without domination of one group by another. In practice, this means a form of power-sharing by all at central government level. Universal franchise for all in electing the central political authority. A single citizenship for all South African inhabitants, and a single, possibly undivided, South Africa. State President P.W. Botha declared all these principles last year at the National Party Congress in Port Elizabeth to be government policy. He also pointed to the principle of group identity as the basis on which possible domination by the numerical majority could be avoided. On the economic side, both continued prosperity as well as greater economic equality will have to be realized in the new South Africa. Free enterprise has shown itself worldwile to be the most effective system for creating continued wealth, in which all can eventually benefit. But there is no longer broad consensus that a pure form of free enterprise may be viable in the economic upliftment of the less privileged. South Africa is still characterized by great economic inequality between the various population groups, with an undesirably high incidence of poverty in a relatively wealthy country. Experience has shown that under such conditions a democracy cannot easily be maintained. So those groups less privileged will have to be given a greater share in the country's wealth, and this co'ld mean a form of redistribution of wealth. [end video]

To begin our discussion, let me introduce the members of the panel. To my left is Mr Solly Ramala, a man involved in local authority. He is a director of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa. Then there is Prof Nic Wiehahn, of the School of Business Studies at the University of South Africa. And in Cape Town we have Prof Danie du Toit, professor of ethics at Stellenbosch University. Welcome to you all. To start with, let me first reestablish a few basic principles. These are the government's points of departure, and include, inter alia, a single constitution, a single South Africa, a single citizenship for all, decisionmaking participation for all up to the highest level, the removal of discrimination, and the creation of equal opportunities. Mr Rammala, let us begin with you. Do you accept these principles, do you think they are acceptable to the majority of blacks?

[Rammala] I would think so. But the greatest problem we have, for example, with the first principle you stated, that the government now accepts that South Africa should consist of one country. This has taken just a bit too long for the average black person. We waited for this for so long, for this to be accepted, and...

[Robinson, interrutping] But it has now been accepted. Would you then say this still means anything, the fact that it has now been accepted that all South Africans should have one citizenship, in a single South Africa, within a single political system?

[Rammala] It is acceptable, but all will depend on how soon it is implemented, how soon it is actually put into effect, otherwise it remains a mere principle which means very little for the majority of blacks.

[Robinson] Good. We will come to that point presently. Prof Wiehahn, what is your view?

[Wiehahn] I agree with this. I think that the development which followed the government's reform process can only lead to one accepting these views as the basic principles of the new dispensation.

[Robinson] And Prof Du Toit in Cape Town?

[Du Toit] I agree too but I would like to add that it is very important for me that we should do more than just look at the various practical issues. It seems to me that what is very important is that there should be universal, generally acceptable norms, a clear human rights declaration which will be respected by all, and which would reach further than just the political and legal.

[Robinson] Good. Prof Du Toit can't we be just a little more specific? Can you tell about what you consider the most important point as a moral basis for the new constitution?

[Du Toit] Informally, I would say that we should first get rid of the fear of the words human rights. I think we have begun to realize that the issue around which it revolves has begun to touch at the heart of evangelism. We can say much about this, about the general concepts in the Bible, the general spirit coming from the Bible, but one important point is human consideration. If we realize what it means to be human according to the Bible, the structures and possibilities given to man by God, then it seems we will have laid a strong basis for any further development and at this stage this is the most important point.

[Robinson] I just want to clarify one point. You say the importance of being human. What do you mean by that? We are talking in a political sense. Do you mean acceptance of each other in South Africa as people and their rights or what do you mean?

[Du Toit] Look, I say it in a political sense as well. You know that Christian human rights can enrich the debate. People are inclined to give a biased political and constitutional interpretation of human rights. This is naturally true, and it is important that it must happen, but we believe there is more to being human than just political rights. There are more basic things, the right of every person to life, the right to sustain that life, the right to work, the right to continue human relations, for example marriage, the rights to bear children, the right to upbringing, but also the right to association then we come out at political discourse.

[Robinson] I would like to ask Mr Rammala, these rights which Prof Du Toit spoke about, I think you have already given an indication that it did not exist for blacks and if it should be applied then it would be a little late. Are their special human rights that you may want to say are very important for blacks today in South Africa?

[Rammala] I think in the first place the rights of blacks to participate in politics of the country, that is I think the most important of all the rights. Then they can participate in decisions concerning other rights which should be

given, but I think we should go back to the basic democratic principles and that means rights should be given to people to speak as they wish, to differ, and to participate in all the political activities in their country.

[Robinson] Do you think we have progressed to some extent in the direction Prof Wiehahn?

[Wiehahn] I would like to say that many of the rights which Prof Du Toit pointed out have been accepted economically and implemented. If one looks at the labor system introduced 6 years ago then it contains the six fundamental rights some of which were pointed out by Prof Du Toit, namely, the basic rights of people to work, the fundamental right of freedom of association which we inherited from our history but now freely acceptable in the labor situation, the right to collective negotiation, the right of labor restraint, the right to protection, and naturally the right to develop. Now these fundamental human rights in the labor situation have existed for 7 years in South Africa and have been applied in a very successful manner. I think it could form a basis for an extension into the political situation.

[Robinson] Would you not want to make such extension yourself?

[Wiehahn] Yes, I believe certainly that some of the fundamental principles in negotiation which employers and trade unions have applied with great success, and from which success has come by the fact that our labor unrest was relatively peaceful while unrest occurred in other spheres, is an important indication for me that one can apply this to the political arena as well, for example the freedom of speech, the freedom of movement, the freedom of association to which Mr Rammala referred, the freedom to negotiate with who you wish and the right of protection. You know those rights can be logically extended to the political arena, naturally with the necessary applications. I can think of the restriction of the movement of people which we had in the labor situation, but which has been done away with to a great extent and is in the process of being finished off, and the process of freedom of association--you know in the political arena it was not possible for blacks to belong to white political parties. That freedom of association could be extended to the political arena just as it had been applied to the labor situation, the freedom to negotiate with whom you want. So there are enough applications in the political arena, in identifiable spheres, of these fundamental rights which we have applied with great success in the labor situation.

[Robinson] Mr Rammala?

[Rammala] I wish to differ with the professor, especially with regard to the right to move to secure employment where you want to. We have heard from government that they are busy reconsidering the influx control measures, but as long as these measures are still in force, then all the changes which we are talking about are not yet reality for blacks, and it is unfortunate that these changes are taking so long to get through to the man in the street.

[Wiehahn] May I say that that is just what I said, that the influx control restricts the horizontal labor of workers. It is in the process of being

dismantled. And I think the government is bound to do away with all these restrictive measures, and I think that one can, in the short to medium terms, find that that total freedom of movement, namely the right to work, will continue unrestricted in South Africa.

[Robinson] It seems to me that we are now talking about more practical things and not about high values. Would you say, Mr Rammala, that these small things are more important to the black man than higher democratic principles?

[Rammala] I would not say that. Both of them are equally important, but it is the small things, the practical things, which made a difference in a man's life and that we must first correct this before we can talk about a constitutional system which would be acceptable to all. But then we must realize that constitutional system should be the result of negotiation between the government and black leaders.

[Robinson] Good, you have now mentioned a constitutional outlook of new solutions. Let us ask Prof Du Toit in Cape Town--would you say the concept "power-sharing" which has become part of our political terminology in South Africa has a moral basis? How would you explain it?

[Du Toit] Freek, if I could go back while--look, in connection with the whole question of human rights, there is one important point that I would like to clarify, and this is that it is unfortunate that human rights in the past and at present is frequently being misused in the international world, and also that many people have a sort of utopian dream image of human rights which could have changed things overnight. I think that history has taught us that human rights are something which have systematically, frequently after falling down and getting up, eventually been realized, and we should not expect to get everything changed overnight, because this concerns human attitudes. But to come to your question on the issue of power-sharing, it seems to me that it is very important that we should realize that it is totally in agreement with Christian ethics that every person in this country should have full political participation, a full say in all the things which affect his existence. How this should come about, I, as a theoretician, would not know. But what I do know is that it will have to come about. If one looks at the human rights conventions of 1966, then already it seems it was given more concretization, in the sense that more than ever before the issue of the rights of minorities was discussed. So I think we will have to find a way of this country to give real expression to the political aspirations of all.

[Robinson] Pardon me, Prof Du Toit, if I may interrupt. About minority rights, is this an important issue among blacks? I would like Mr Rammala and Prof Wiehahn to react.

[Rammala] Naturally, the blacks are in the majority, so that are not so concerned about minority rights as are the whites. But I have already said all this will have to be the result of negotiation with the real leaders of the black people. I cannot say what the attitudes of such leaders would be, on the protection of minorities in a new constitutional dispensation. But let me add here, the professor there says many people are making a utopia of human rights.

But for the blacks, at this stage they actually have no experience of these human rights. The issue will remain a utopia until we reach a stage where we actually begin to talk about how we are going to give these human rights to these people. And the longer we delay before this dialogue actually gets going, the more theoretical their utopia will be.

[Robinson] A summing-up from you, Prof Wiehahn?

[Wiehahn] Yes. Let me say right away, in my view, we are a heterogenous society in a unitary South Africa, and there we will have to have declaration on human rights. That is unavoidable. The next point I want to make is that, in my experience, white fears for change have thus far largely been shown to be groundless. We have had the experience when we abolished job reservation, and recognized black trade unions. The fears which existed there among whites were proved totally groundless.

[Rammala] I just want to say in conclusion that the professor has referred to the changes which came about—and one has to admit that much has been done, especially in the labor field—but I feel that in the meantime we have done nothing towards integrating the majority of blacks into our economic system. The result is that many blacks are beginning to lose their support and loyalty to the whole concept of a free economy, as we have here. That can only mean that in future certain alternative systems—socialism and other systems—will replace the free market system.

[Robinson] Right. That then was one of the last statements. Economic freedoms. From me, then, we have reached the end of this discussion. Good night.

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COMMENTARY VIEWS DIFFICULTIES OF POLICE WORK

MB240649 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 24 Jan 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] The mob murder of two policemen near Krugersdorp illustrates tragically another side of their task--not only the dangers they face in the performance in their duties but how easily matters can go wrong.

It is an aspect that is too little understood by those armchair analysts who are always ready to criticise police actions. The shadow of death hovering over the policemen on the scene is an all too real part of the job. In the present unrest especially, those engaged in law enforcement are confronted almost daily with situations that may erupt suddenly and unpredictably. When that happens there is no time for calm deliberation. They are required to react immediately, to avoid overreacting but nevertheless to act with the firmness that is appropriate to the seriousness of the situations.

And that is expected of them not only at unrest scenes but in the ordinary course of their police work, when the dilemma--"it's either them or us"--presents itself. It has been pointed out before that various factors make the task of law enforcement considerably more difficult in the South African context.

The combination of First and Third World conditions, with its wide diversity of languages and cultures, is itself a complication. There are the double standards applied in assessing police action. Errors of judgment are made in South Africa as they are elsewhere, but while allowance may be made for bona fide mistakes there, in this country the reaction all too often is to question the motives of police—especially when they are white. A further difficulty is the inadequate size of the police force. Experience abroad, where the number of policeman as a proportion of the population is far higher than in South Africa, has shown that there is no real substitute for a large police contingent to quell an unrest situation with the minimum amount of force.

The police have a truly thankless task when all this is blithely ignored by the critics in passing judgment. It is the duty of the policeman to maintain order, enforce the laws of the land and protect the ordinary citizen—and that duty is no less compelling when they are called upon to handle a rioting mob than when dealing with a case of armed robbery.

They cannot turn a blind eye to lawbreaking simply because of the possibility that it may lead to a confrontation. And kid gloves, as the events at Krugersdorp have shown, are of no use in dealing with people whose very purpose is the elimination of symbols of the state and law and order.

Not the least of the conditions for civilised life is that those whose task it is to enforce the law, who do so often at serious risk to their own lives, should have the support and understanding of the society they serve. Their effectiveness in carrying out that task should not be eroded by uninformed, underserved criticism.

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COMMENTARY SAYS 1986 YEAR OF ACCELERATED REFORM

MB150525 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] The year 1986, events are making increasingly clear, is to be the year of greatly accelerated reform in South Africa. As the parliamentary session approaches so does the air of expectancy grow in the country and abroad. is the year in which, on a wide variety of fronts, reform initiated earlier will come into operation, discriminatory measures that have been investigated are to be dealt with and progress must be made in giving practical effect to fundamental policies formulated and spelt out during 1985. To a large extent the last year was one of building consensus on the larger goals, and clarifying means by which South Africa should move in building a free and democratic dispensation for all its peoples. In sum, the policy declarations amounted to what Dr Fritz Leutwiler described at the weekend as "one hell of a reform programme." On the fundamentals, agreement was reached on the goal of power sharing by all groups on national issues, in an undivided South Africa with a single citizenship and universal franchise. Any form of discrimination that put members of any group at a disadvantage relative to others was categorically rejected. Moving towards those goals requires action in several areas this year. There will certainly be further developments in eradicating the remains of petty apartheid--socially discriminatory measures which, while neither morally nor politically justifiable, are all too obviously grievously humiliating to those against which they are directed. The same applies to those economic measures limiting freedom of movement and individual enterprise -- the last legacies of a mistaken ideology.

Their only solution now is to obstruct the evolution of a free, stable and secure society. Despite the destructive efforts of radicals, there will certainly be substantial progress this year in strengthening democracy at the local, grassroots level. Elective self-government of local communities will become more viable with the banding together of councils for more effective cooperation and financing through regional services councils. The second tier of government, the provinical councils, will be restructured to reflect and cater more rationally to the needs of the different communities within their regions. A law enabling urban blacks to obtain freehold title to their property is to be introduced in the coming parliamentary session. Also due to be translated into law is the policy decision on a single citizenship for South

Africans of all groups. The long debated issue of influx control, and the Presidents Councils recommendation that it be scrapped in favour of a suitable urbanisation programme, must be sorted out and the necessary changes made. These are building blocks being placed on last years foundations. No doubt those who misunderstood the significance of the thoroughgoing investigations into problems and policies that went on through last year, will also not understand the context in which this years changes will be taking place. Where they were able to discern little or no movement last year, they will see merely a confusion of unrelated activities this year. In fact they will be living through the single process of consultation and preparation followed by implementation that characterises all reform. And that is the only basis on which the goals South Africa has set itself can be achieved.

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WEEKLY MAIL CARRIES APARTHEID BAROMETER

MB111135 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL in English 10-16 Jan 86 p 4

["Apartheid Barometer"]

[Excerpts] State of Emergency Detentions [22 July 1985-2 January 1986]

Number of people detained so far: 7,478

Number released: 7.084 Number still held: 394

(117 people were detained in the week 26 December to 2 January and 31 people

in the week 19 to 26 December)

Deaths in Township Conflict

Total killed in 1985: 870 (approximate) February 1984 to 31 December 1985: 1,071 September 1984 to 31 December 1985: 1,045

Immigration to South Africa

January-September 1985: 1,276 January-September 1984: 22,767

This represents a 64 percent decline.

In September alone there were 1,005 immigrants, down from 2,403 in the same month of 1984.

Emigration

January-September 1985: 8,380 January-September 1984: 5,586 This represents a 64 percent rise. Annual average 1980-1984: 7,800

Among last year's imigrants were 89 engineers, 15 metallurgists, 49 physicians and dentists, 96 accountants and 95 educationists.

The number of foreigners holidaying in the country between January and September last year fell by 4.2 percent to 384,854, while 12.9 percent less South Africans toured abroad.

Hangings

Number of people hanged in 1985: 137 Number hanged in 1984: 115

Schools Damaged in Township Conflict

According to Department of Education and Training spokesman, Job Schoeman, 126 black schools were damaged in the township conflict between September 1984 and October 1985. Thirteen schools have been totally destroyed and damage has amounted to R7.4 million, he said. Schools in the Eastern Cape had been worst hit, he said.

Banned Books, Objects (13-27 December)

Part of My Soul (Winnie Mandela); This Christmas! Don't Pay for the Bullets That Kill us!--pamphlet (Consumer Action Committee); Crisis News--No 3, November 1983 (Western Province Council of Churches); Fellow Comrades--Greetings to All Students--pamphlet (not stated); Moeders, Vaders en Jeug van Bellville Township--pamphlet (UDF); Anti-Apartheid News--October 1985 (Anti-Apartheid Movement, London); Unite Mobilise Fight Destroy the Racist Constitution--The People Shall Govern--pamphlet (ANC); Free Exit--No 2, August 1985 (Exit, Johannesburg); State of the Nation (SASPU Publications, Braamfontein); How Marxism Works (Chris Harman); SOYA Bulletin--No 3 (SOYA, Salt River); Up Front-No 2, October 1985 (UDF, Claremont and Observatory); Workers Vanguard Nos 361, 362, 363, 366, 368, 376 (all by Sparticist Publishing Co, New York); Workers Hammer Nos 62 and 70 (Sparticist Publications Co, London); Yesterday Tricameral Today Emergency What Next? (MSA); Consumer Boycott (not stated); Arise Vukani (Action Youth, Braamfontein); Don't Hand Ben--pamphlet (ANC); The Battle Lines Are Drawn--pamphlet (RMC, Cape Town).

Unbanned

Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective (Pierre van den Berghe); Cris News No 1 (Western Province Council of Churches, Woodstock)

COSAS [Congress of South African Students] Banned (Media Committee, University of Cape Town)

South Africa and U.S. Multinational Corporations (Ann and Neva Seidman); Letters from Zimbabwe (Andrew Wainwright); The Purge of the Eastern Cape (not stated); The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (Karl Marx).

Breakdown of Banned Books, Publications and Objects June-December 1985

Total Number of Items: 291
Banned on political grounds: 135
Banned for other reasons: 22

Organisations Whose Publications Were Banned Most

UDF and affiliates, 25; ANC 11; South African Communist Party, 5; Anti-Apartheid Movement, 5; Qibla, 4; End Conscription Campaign, 4; Action Youth, 4; Cosawr, 3; Student Revolutionary Front, 3; Western Province Council of Churches, 3; SOYA, 2; AZAPO, 2.

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BRIEFS

PUTCO INCREASES BUS FARES—Johannesburg, 21 January, SAPA—PUTCO bus fares in Durban are to be increased by an average of 15 percent from 1 February, in line with the Durban Transport Management Board and Ilanga Transport. A statement issued by PUTCO public relations executive, Mr Pat Rogers says this is the first general fare increase in Durban since 1 April 1984, although there were two increases of up to 10 percent each last year (in February and November) to recover the cost of fuel price hikes. Since April 1984, the company has been hit by other operating cost rises including: Higher wages and salaries, higher cost of buses and spares, especially for imported items affected by the weakened rand exchange rate, higher general sales tax. These cost increases could only be met by bus operators with the assistance of increased passenger subsidias from the government, the statement said. Details of the new fare structure are being communicated by passenger leaflets and press advertisements, said the statement. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 0816 GMT 21 Jan 86 MB] /12232

FAVORABLE BALANCE OF TRADE FOR 1986 RECORDED

MB241546 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1531 GMT 24 Jan 86

[Text] Pretoria, 24 January SAPA--South Africa recorded a favorable trade balance of R13485.1 million last year, according to figures released in Pretoria today.

Preliminary statistics from the commissioner of customs and excise show that by the end of the year exports totalled R36474.2 million and imports R22989.1 million.

The import and export figures have been adjusted to bring them into line with the requirements for the compilation of the balance of payments.

A breakdown of the world trading zones showed that Europe remained South Africa's largest trading partner. Exports totalled R9213.8 million, compared with R6570.6 million in the same period last year, while imports stood at R10871.8 million (R9684.1 million).

Asia remained South Africa's second largest export partner, with a total of R5190.4 million (R3453.1 million).

These were followed by America, with R3500.7 million (R2456.8 million), Africa with R1577.2 million (R891.2 million), and Oceania with R265.2 million (R186.2 million).

After Eruope, American imports rates second, with R3861.0 million (R4122.5 million).

Asia was next with a total of R3368.6 million (R4043.0 million), followed by Africa R453.2 million (R404.2 million), and Oceania with R276.9 million (R302.6 million).

Other unclassified goods and balance of payments adjustments totalled R16671.3 million for exports (R11726.9 million), and R4157.6 million for imports (R3079.4 million).

Ships and aircraft stores exported totalled R55.6 million (R35.1 million).

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MANPOWER MINISTER SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

MB231241 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1233 GMT 23 Jan 86

[Text] Pretoria, 23 January, SAPA--Programmes initiated so far by all government departments and organisations were supplying jobs daily to about 150,000 unemployed, the minister of manpower, Mr P.T.C. du Plessis, said today.

Mr du Plessis, who was addressing the Pretoria Afrikaanse Sakekamer [Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce], said this figure was expected to rise considerably as the programmes developed.

Food assistance was also being given to a large number of destitutes and about 700,000 food parcels had already been supplied to the needy.

Mr du Plessis said his department had so far approved 252 projects which would be undertaken by organisations in the private sector and which would supply work to about 15,000 unemployed.

The number of registered unemployed rose from 73,693 in January 1985 to 125,325 at the end of November 1985.

To ease the problem, the government had, in the 1985/86 budget voted an amount of R100 million for special job creations and training programmes for those out of work.

This amount was increased on 7 October 1985, to R600 million, "and it was entrusted to me as minister of manpower, to coordinate the execution of the programme," Mr du Plessis said.

He said good progress was being made in carrying out this programme.

In the field of training, the Department of Manpower had so far concluded almost 150 contracts with private organisations for the training of 171,000 unemployed of all population groups before 31 March 1986.

"A further 64,000 unemployed will be trained by other organisations. It would thus appear that as many as a quarter of a million unemployed will benefit from the training programme," Mr du Plessis said.

A total of 75,000 jobless had already been trained in a wide variety of basic skills. More that 25 percent of those trained had been placed in jobs directly after their training, and there were all indications that a considerable percentage of the rest of those being trained would be able to find work on their own "within a reasonable period" after completing their course.

Mr du Plessis said South Africa stood in many respects at the forefront in the handling of the unemployment problem.

It was necessary to emphasise that the basic premise of the government's job supply strategy amounted primarily to the fact that there was no instant formula or recipe for the solution to the unemployment problem in South Africa or the rest of the world.

"In the second place it must be stated clearly that in the South African economic system, it is in the first instance not the task of the state to create job opportunities, but the task of entrepreneurs in the private sector."

It was for this reason that the government's prime economic aim in the $lon_{\mathbb{C}}$ -term was the quest for the highest, possible growth rate which was reconcilable with the availability of resources.

In order to raise the economic growth rate and at the same time the capacity of job supply of the South African economy, the government was paying particular attention to the following:

- -- The elimination of factors impeding the effective functioning of the free market system;
- -- the promotion of small business undertakings in the formal and informal sector;
- -- the promotion of regional development by way of attractive incentives;
- -- the training and re-training of the workers' corps;
- --improved education;
- -- the planning, creation and improvement of the physical infrastructure;
- -- the promotions of healthy labour relations between employers and employees;
- -- the promotion of business security; and
- -- the establishment of work supply services and the supply of job information.

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OPENING OF CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICTS DISCUSSED

MB241306 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 22 Jan 86

[Interview with Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Johannesburg Association of Central Business Districts, and Mike Smith of the Small Business Development Corporation by Ruda Landman on the "Newwork" program--live]

[Text] [Landman] It appears as though the Central Business Districts [CBD's] in some of our cities will soon be open to all race groups. More than 50 applications have already been received and, as expected, Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban will be first. We look first at the preamble to the decision.

[unidentified reporter] CBD's, such as that of Johannesburg, are to a great degree the backbone of the economy. It is in the city areas where skills, gumption, and competition are part of the economic activity which contributes to greater wealth for all in the country. In 1977 the Association of Chambers of Commerce [ASSOCOM] pleaded for equal trading opportunities for all race groups in the central city areas. ASSOCOM said that all restrictions which keep people from free participation in economic activities must be abolished. Similar pleas were made by individual businessmen, interested groups, and representative organizations. The business sector has indicated that South Africa, as a developing industrial country which supports free enterprise and democratic principles, should give all people the opportunity to participate in economic activities. In this manner, according to the business sector, human resources can be developed tremendously. Although provision has been made in the Group Areas Act for the proclamation of areas for a special purpose, other race groups had to get permits to establish themselves in CBD's. The permit system was not satisfactory and pleas for a better dispensation continued. Erika Theron and Riekert Commissions were the result. They recommended that free trading areas be established without any permit demands. The government has accepted these recommendations. Following recommendations by the previous President's Council, the cabinet appointed the Strydom Committee in 1981 to investigate the Groups Areas Act and related legislation. This committee's report and recommendations was referred to a parliamentary select committee. select committee has, as a matter of urgency, recommended and proposed legislation to introduce free trading areas. For this purpose a new article, Article 19 of the Group Areas Act, was accepted and incorporated in the amendment act which came into force on 30 May last year. At that stage, 44 business districts were open to all race groups according to the old system. The amendment to the

act does not provide for free trading areas in black residential areas because another law controls such residential areas. The amendment act also does not provide for the automatic opening of all buisness districts. Free trading areas are still to be identified, advertised, and investigated by the Group Areas Board.

[Landman] In the studio are Mr Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Johannesburg Association of Central Business Districts, and Mr Mike Smith of the Small Business Development Corporation [SBDC]. Good evening and welcome.

[Mandy and Smith] Good evening.

[Landman] Mr Mandy, what precisely does a free trading area mean? How can it be different in practice from what is it now?

[Mandy] Well it will be a return to a normal economic situation. There is one economy, all the people are involved in it, and in Johannesburg, for example, people of all races and color are already there, they are doing business. Until recently, there was a proclamation which prohibited nonwhites from having a manager's post in white business, and this was abolished a few months ago. At the moment, there are many people of other colors who work in the cities, but they are not allowed to be entrepreneurs, partners, or owners. However, this actually happens and so the changes will not make much difference immediately in Johannesburg because it does happen, but it will create new possibilities. People think mostly in terms of shops, but this is...

[Landman, interrutping] How is it already happening if it is against the law?

[Mandy] Well there are small areas, which are called the 44 areas, which I call trade ghettoes. We are now asking that the whole CBD be opened so that anyone can legally and without a permit hire and occupy a premise in the usual manner and, we hope, own that premise.

[Landman] Why do you say we hope?

[Mandy] Well, we have not yet seen the proclamation. I assume that if the proclamation appears within the next few days it will be for the area which we asked for in Johannesburg-that is the whole area between the N1 and the M2 freeways, the Harrow Road area, and the railway line. We hope that will be the area. We have also asked that it be made available not only for occupation but also for ownership, and that equal rights be given to all races.

[Landman] What will this do for the small businessman?

[Mandy] Well, I know the SBDC sees this opening of the CBD's as a very important point of departure for the development of entrepreneurship among the black and colored people. Since the formation of the SBDC, we have been pressing for the opening of all areas zoned for business and industrial purposes. We also make recommendation to various bodies, such as the President's Council.

[Landman] Pardon me, but why is it so important for them? After all, they live so far apart. The Group Areas Act keeps their residential areas apart. Why then should they now do business in one area?

[Mandy] I think that surveys have shown that between 60 and 90 percent of all purchases by the black consumer take place in the CBD's. And until now the black trader has been barred from conducting his business there. Now he has the opportunity to take part in this very important process.

[Landman] The minister's statement said that this will not take place automatically, that all cases will have to be identified, advertised, and investigated by the Group Areas Board. Is that the way you want it?

[Mandy] No, that is not what we wanted. The Riekert report also said this should be a local option. But the government wants to maintain control. Let me just add to what Mr Smith said. People think in terms of shops, but much more important for a city like Johannesburg are offices, service industries, and industrial business. This forms a much greater part of the whole, but until now it was not possible for a nonwhite to be at the head of or in partnership in such cases. Take the example of a lawyer. In the past the idea was that a black lawyer had to practice in Soweto, even though the Supreme Court was in Johannesburg. They had to apply for permits, and did not always get them. And there will always be people—take Randburg, Sandton, Soweto, these are all dormitory towns of Johannesburg—there will be those who prefer to work there. But there are many who are working in the center of the city, and that has to be multiracial.

[Landman] You were quoted in a morning newspaper and also in an earlier newsletter of your association as saying—and I am sorry I only have this in English [changes to English]: That the stupid restrictions of the Group Areas Act on business activity by Indian, colored, and black entrepreneurs are increasingly being treated as a dead letter in Johannesburg's CBD's. [Reverts to Afrikaans] Is that so?

[Mandy] Yes, it is true. There are many shops being run behind a white front. There are shops which do not even bother about that any longer. There are black entrepreneurs in the city. I mean, I can... [changes thought] the only legal transgression is if the nonwhite is the owner of the business. One need only look at the old Broadcasting House in Commissioner Street. It is full of very able black people. So why not also in a managerial situation? We asked government to do away with some persecutions.

[Landman] For example?

[Mandy] Just one example, a license for a motor vehicle driving instructor. That is a provincial license. People learn to drive on the open road, but one has to register one's business. According to the law, one has to say where your business will be. So, if one is a black instructor, it has to be a house in Soweto. But if someone had an office in Johannesburg registered in his name he was prosecuted. And yet, if there is one thing this country needs, it is driving instruction. Now, these prosecutions were suspended, but they are still technically transgressions. For many years we have been saying this is not a matter for the constitution or criminal law.

[Landman] Are you actively going to try to canvas businesses and draw them in, Mr Smith?

[Smith] I think one has to accept that the black businessman lacks expertise in management and the technical side, and here it is going to be very necessary to provide support services, to help these people make up for their shortcomings. And I think the SBDC has a very important role here. The SBDC was established to develop entrepreneurship among all population groups in the country, and I would like to assure the viewers that the whole spectrum of our services will be made available to those black and colored businessmen who establish themselves in the CBD's. This includes financing services, the provision of business premises, a whole range of advisory services covering training, consultation services, and information services, as well as promoting these businesses. In other words, the work we are doing trying to get rid of unnecessary legislative and administrative...

[Landman, interrupting] To correct these things, as is happnening at present?

[Smith] Right. For example, when it comes to... [changes thought] Mr Mandy, Nigel, did not mention this, but I think a very important aspect is the informal sector, the deregualtion of the informal sector. I think that is an area where the blacks can begin. In a place like Johannesburg.

[Landman] Perhaps that is something we can look at another time. Unfortunately, we have to wind up. Thank you both for your time here this evening. I appreciate your having come. Good night.

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SLUMP IN BUILDING, STEEL INDUSTRIES REPORTED

MB131939 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1700 GMT 13 Jan 86

[Text] Recently released figures show that the building and steel and engineering industries were hard hit by political instability and the economic slow-down last year, and over a 4-year period close on 140,000 people in these industries have lost their jobs. In the metal industries, the number of job opportunities fell by more than 100,000, while the building industry had to let go 39,000 workers.

[Begin recording] [Rustry van Druten] Looking at the metal industries in 1985, the figures certainly show why there was such a drop in the number of job opportunities. For the last 12-month period, the domestic demand for steel was expected to fall by 22 percent and ferrous casting production--already down to a low 361,000 tons in 1984--is forecast to fall a further 10 percent for final 1985 figures. This is a good 50 percent below normal, and there is no guarantee that things will be any better in 1986. One positive note, though, is that during 1986, steel exports could be up.

As far as the building industry is concerned, no real improvement is likely until the last few months of the year. The view of BIFSA [Building Industries Federation of South Africa] Director Lou Davis is that the government should stimulate the economy through labor-intensive schemes for low-income housing.

[Davis] I believe quite positively that the government should give very, very serious attention to putting more and more money—albeit on a subsidized basis—into building housing, because they are going to stabilize the political situation, in my opinion. They are going to create work opportunities. They are going to stimulate the internal economy, because you must understand that building is a domestic service. We do not import very much, in fact, we import practically nothing. So we would generate the internal economic activity by doint that.

[Van Druten] In both the building and metal industries, the question of training is receiving high priority. Those at the helm in the steel industry have welcomed the HSRC [Human Sciences Research Council] recommendations for modular increased institutional training. In anticipation of these being accepted by the government, they have introduced new grants aimed at encouraging institutional training. [end recording]

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BRIEFS

SHIPPING SERVICE TO SRI LANKA--South Africa's export potential is to receive a boost next month, when a shipping service from Durban to Sri Lanks is introduced. Alan Kidson has the story from Durban: [Kidson] The new service, a 10-day trip to Colombo, with onward sailing to the Caribbean, will be operated by Nedlloyd Lines and will provide exporters with a scheduled sailing on the 18th of each month, starting next month. Nedlloyd says that, apart from the obvious benefit of bringing Sri Lanka closer to home, the service will open the door to profitable markets in the Caribbean basin. The new service, known as (Caribex), will use 4 modern 21,000-ton ships, each capable of carrying 638 containers. They will travel at 29 km an hour. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1100 GMT 21 Jan 86 MB] /12232

RSA WHEAT IMPORT PROBABLE—South Africa will probably have to import about 300,000 tons of wheat this year at an estimated cost of 12.3 million rand. Disclosing this today, the general manager of [the] Wheat Board, Mr (Dennis van Aarde), said the expenditure was, nevertheless, not expected to have any direct affect on the price of bread. The general manager of NAMPO [National Maize Producers Organization], Dr (Pieter Gouws), says that should this year's maize crop amount to 9 million tons, the country will be able to export close to 3 million tons at a total price of 750 million rand. Speaking at Bothaville, he said that given the current exchange rates, export maize could fetch 244 rand a ton. Domestic consumption was likely to total 6.5 million tons and if 3 million tons were exported, a useful boost to the economy would be provided by the estimated 200 million rand which would be calculated as marketing costs within the country. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 23 Jan 86 MB] /12232

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